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THE ✓PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

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In Praise of the Pastorate

by THOMAS W. GILLESPIE

President Thomas W. Gillespie of Princeton Theological Seminary delivered this Opening Convocation Address in Miller Chapel on September 19, 2000.

IT HAS FINALLY COME TRUE: The long-predicted pastor shortage in mainline Protestant churches is upon us. Just two years ago there were two ministers seeking every one pastoral opening in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). Today there is one minister open to a call for every two pulpit vacancies. It is a crisis of major proportions. We Presbyterians have been deaf to the warnings because our ten seminaries have been and continue to be filled with students. What we have not noticed is that only fifty-six percent of our total enrollment is Presbyterian. Moreover, and this is more drastic, only fifty percent of our Presbyterian graduates enter pastoral ministry. Of these, twenty percent last only five years. This is not a Presbyterian crisis alone, however. For years we have shared annual reports of shrinking and graying memberships with our sister denominations. Now we participate with them in this new factor—the sudden shortage of pastoral leadership.

Those of us who teach in theological schools created to train pastors may not excuse ourselves from this emergency. For we may be a part of the problem. Neither can those enrolled in seminary ignore the challenge. For you may be a part of the solution.

So tonight, on the occasion of this convocation of the Seminary's 189th academic year, I speak in praise of the pastorate. I am in the recruiting mode, and I am especially addressing that fifty percent of you wondering what it is God wants you to do with the rest of your lives. Before I do, however, let me declare my bias. There is no work in the world that is more demanding, more difficult, and more risky than the pastorate. At the same time, there is no work in the world that is more interesting, more challenging, and more gratifying than being pastor of a congregation. I speak out of twenty-nine years of pastoral experience.

I.

Consider the office of pastor in terms of its biblical origins. In the New Testament the title *pastor* occurs only once in standard English translations, and that in the Letter to the Ephesians. In its context the verse reads:

But each of us was given grace according to the measure of Christ's gift. . . .
The gifts he gave were that some would be apostles, some prophets, some

evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to maturity, to the measure of the full stature of Christ. (Eph 4:7, 11-13)

It is unclear in this list whether "pastors and teachers" refer to one and the same or two separate people. But the list itself is an evident expansion of the triad found in Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians: "God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers" (1 Cor 12:28). By the time of Ephesians the apostles and prophets seem revered as the "holy apostles and prophets" of the past (Eph 3:5), implying perhaps that evangelists have now replaced the apostles and pastors have taken up the work of the prophets. Be that as it may, the evident point is that all of these forms of ministry serve the purpose of equipping the church for ministry, for building up the body of Christ. That is still what pastors are called to do.

As I said, this text from Ephesians is the only one in the New Testament where the Greek term *poimēn* is translated "pastor." In all other instances it is rendered "shepherd," its literal sense. Luke, for example, knows only real shepherds, the kind found "living in the fields, keeping watch over their flock by night" (Luke 2:8). Matthew and Mark, however, use the word metaphorically in reporting of Jesus that "when he saw the crowds, he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd" (Matt 9:36; cf. Mark 6:34). Small wonder, then, that in time the metaphor becomes a christological title. The concluding benediction in the Letter to the Hebrews speaks of "the God of peace, who brought back from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep" (Heb 13:20). And 1 Peter declares with reference to Jesus, "For you were going astray like sheep, but now you have returned to the shepherd and guardian of your souls" (1 Pet 2:25).

The fullest development of the shepherd metaphor, however, is found in John's Gospel. Listen to this brief excerpt:

I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. The hired hand, who is not the shepherd and does not own the sheep, sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and runs away—and the wolf snatches them and scatters them. The hired hand runs away because a hired hand does not care for the sheep. I am the good shepherd. I know my own and my own know me, just as the Father knows me and I know the Father. And I lay down my life for the sheep. (John 10:11-15)

The distinction here between the "hired hand" and the "good shepherd" is not mere rhetoric or hyperbole. The long history of the church's ministry amply demonstrates that there are "hired hands" among the good pastors.

I preached on this text at the memorial service for two young women who died in the Jonestown massacre. On the twentieth anniversary of that event, the *San Francisco Chronicle* carried this lead into the story:

On November 18, 1978, gunmen from the Peoples Temple opened fire at a jungle airstrip in Guyana. Five people, including Representative Leo Ryan, were killed. Within hours, another 914 people had been murdered or committed suicide at Jonestown, including temple founder Jim Jones.¹

Among the victims were these two women who had grown up in our church. Both of them in their early twenties had joined the Peoples Temple, an independent, 8,000-member, interracial congregation in San Francisco pastored by the charismatic Jim Jones.

At the time of this massacre the newspapers were filled with innuendo about the excesses if not evils of organized religion and its "Elmer Gantry" type of ministerial leadership. That night, at the memorial service for Sharon and Kim, it fell to me to speak to a packed sanctuary that included the press about another pastor. Jim Jones claimed to heal the sick, feed the hungry, and house the homeless. In the end, however, he proved himself a "hired hand" by taking the lives of his followers. Jesus, "the good shepherd," laid down his life for his flock—including those who died at Jonestown. That is still the standard for good pastors.

II.

One who ministered by that standard was the apostle Paul. Although he takes a beating these days from a variety of critics, the great missionary to the gentiles, the founder of churches among the nations, has never been accused, to my knowledge, of being a "hired hand." Perhaps in part that is because we do not think of Paul as a pastor. Theologian, yes. Missionary, of course. But pastor? As Abraham Malherbe explains:

Most of the time we read Paul's letters for his theology or for their contribution to our knowledge of history or literature. We are not used to reading them for their pastoral understanding. Ancient commentators like

¹ 12 November 1998.

John Chrysostom were much more attuned to the pastor Paul than we are, and we can learn from them.²

If this be the case, then the apostle's correspondence with his churches is pastoral through and through. The letters represent one means by which he provided pastoral care to his converts, the other being his use of apostolic emissaries such as Titus and Timothy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his letters are sprinkled with explicit evidences of his deep pastoral concern for the churches. Perhaps the most dramatic instance of this occurs in his extraordinary defense of his ministry against the "super-apostles" who had intruded into the church at Corinth:

Are they ministers of Christ? I am talking like a madman—I am a better one: with far greater labors, far more imprisonments, with countless floggings, and often near death. Five times I have received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. Three times I was beaten with rods. Once I received a stoning. Three times I was shipwrecked; for a night and a day I was adrift at sea; on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, danger from bandits, danger from my own people, danger from Gentiles, danger in the city, danger in the wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brothers and sisters; in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, hungry and thirsty, often without food, cold and naked. And, besides other things, I am under daily pressure because of my anxiety for all the churches. (2 Cor 11:23–28)

Whatever Paul's faults may have been, he cared for the people of God. Clearly he was no "hired hand."

In a time when some view the pastorate as a profession rather than a calling, it is natural to wonder why people in their right mind would go through what Paul experienced out of pastoral concern for the church. His explanation is that he had no choice: "For an obligation is laid on me," reads the NRSV, "and woe to me if I do not proclaim the gospel!" (1 Cor 9:16). An "obligation" is a mild translation of the Greek term *anagkē*. The RSV is better: "For necessity is laid upon me." But *anagkē* means "fate." Paul knows himself *fated* to preach the gospel, called by God from his mother's womb to proclaim the good news of Jesus Christ to the nations (Gal 1:16). He had no choice, and neither does anyone else called by God to preach the gospel.

Yet for Paul there was no such thing as a solo pastorate. For he knew he was

² Abraham J. Malherbe, "The Apostle Paul as a Pastor," *Jesus, Paul and John* (Hong Kong: Theology Division, Chung Chi College, 1999), 125.

not alone in the work to which God had called him. His was a ministry in the Spirit (2 Cor 3:6). To quote Malherbe one more time:

It is important to understand how Paul conceived of God working through the Spirit in his preaching for this lies at the heart of his view of what we would call his pastoral work. Paul was at great pains to stress that what he preached was not a human word, but God's word, which was at work in those who accepted it (1 Thess 2:13). It was not his rhetorical ability that brought about faith in his hearers, but the activity of the Spirit, with power (1 Cor 2:3-5; cf. Rom 10:14-15).³

Thus the apostle can declare to the Romans that he is "not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation" (Rom 1:16). Gospel proclamation is a redemptive event. Things happen when Christ is proclaimed, and that is what pastors do.

For Paul it is the gospel that creates the church, sustains the church, encourages the church, judges the church, informs the church, and grows the church. That is why having a gospel, one that has grasped your own life, is an absolute prerequisite for pastoral ministry. It is also why preaching it is the central task of the pastorate.

III.

As pastoral ministry developed in postapostolic times, however, it became ever more priestly in its orientation and thus ever more neglectful of the preaching office. Restoring this crucial task of the church's pastoral ministry was among the great achievements of the Protestant Reformations of the sixteenth century. Luther's *Pfarrer* and Calvin's *pasteur* were essential to the life of the congregation. Calvin wrote, "For neither the light and heat of the sun, nor food and drink, are so necessary to nourish and sustain the present life as the apostolic and pastoral office is necessary to preserve the church on earth."⁴ Central to this office is the task of preaching, a topic the reformer takes up in the *Institutes* under the caption of "The prestige of the preaching office in Scripture."⁵

It is for this reason that Calvin ranks the pastorate above the teaching office among the four orders of ministry he recognized. The church can never "go

³ Ibid., 101-2.

⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), IV.iii.2 (1055).

⁵ Ibid., IV.iii.3 (1055-6).

without" either, he acknowledges, but there is this difference between them:

[T]eachers are not put in charge of discipline, or administering the sacraments, or warnings and exhortations, but only of Scriptural interpretation—to keep doctrine whole and pure among believers. But the pastoral office includes all these functions within itself.⁶

That distinction collapsed long ago into one ministerial office in the Presbyterian version of the Reformed tradition, but I believe Calvin's insight still holds. The pastorate is the most comprehensive and thus the most demanding office in the church.

Like most other institutional positions, the pastoral office has developed over the years since Calvin. At mid-twentieth century H. Richard Niebuhr addressed the implications of this development for theological education. In a classic study entitled *The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry* he speaks, on the one hand, of "the perplexed profession" and, on the other, of "the emerging new conception of the ministry."⁷ In the churches of the Reformation, Niebuhr notes, pastors knew "with relative precision" what was expected of them. They were preachers of the word or, in the later days of Pietism and Evangelicalism, they were evangelists. By the early twentieth century, however, the function of the minister was "undefined."⁸ What Niebuhr saw emerging at mid-century was a model of the minister as "a pastoral director." That is to say, the pastor is someone who administers "the church's work."⁹ In architecture this transition is marked by the shrinking size of the church's pulpit and the increasing size of the minister's office.

Having been there and done that, I can tell you that there is much truth in this observation. The American congregation is certainly a programmatic institution. Yet the proposed "pastoral director" model has not succeeded in defining the pastor's role. In its "Report to the 212th General Assembly (2000)," the Office of Theology and Worship for the PC(USA) notes:

Contemporary pastors, like their predecessors, are beset by a bewildering range of congregational and denominational expectations. Demands on pastors' time and energy include regular visitation and successful stewardship programs, membership growth and an efficient committee structure, presbytery service and good sermons, community outreach and an attractive church school program. The list is endless.

⁶ Ibid., IV.iii.5 (1057).

⁷ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 48–94.

⁸ Ibid., 50–1.

⁹ Ibid., 80–1.

What this great variety of expectations and demands does, the report continues, is present ministers with “a bewildering and unstable bundle of images depicting the essence of ministry: preacher . . . teacher . . . community builder . . . programmer . . . marketer . . . therapist . . . change agent . . . care giver . . . manager . . . the list goes on!” When these tasks become images that function as comprehensive models of ministry, they offer “competing options without a compelling rationale for choice.” The result, according to this report, is that “the vocational core of ministry is no longer discernable.”¹⁰

For me, however, these various pastoral tasks are neither “competing options” nor “comprehensive models of ministry.” They simply represent the various things that pastors do. Like doctors who practice family medicine, pastors are generalists. Their work requires variety rather than singularity of activity. The comprehensive term for all of this activity is *pastor*, the shepherd who tends the sheep, the one who cares about the church—not primarily as institution (although that too) but as people, the people of God. What is needed in pastoral ministry is a keen sense of priority among all of its discrete tasks; at the top of the list is the proclamation of the gospel. For it is the gospel that creates the church, sustains the church, encourages the church, judges the church, informs the church, and grows the church.

My desk is flooded with requests from pastor-seeking committees for suggestions of worthy candidates. These come from churches with tall steeples, small steeples, and no steeples at all. I have yet to receive one that did not place the highest priority upon preaching. As one elderly woman from a small church in South Jersey put it in a memorable line, “Please, Dr. Gillespie, send us someone who can preach.” Other abilities are expected, to be sure, but I tell you that number one is preaching. Whether or not that is taken seriously in seminaries, the people of God seem to understand that it is the preaching of the gospel that creates the church, sustains the church, encourages the church, judges the church, informs the church, and grows the church. They want pastors who can and will preach the gospel.

IV.

Let me conclude with some observations from my unscientific sampling of Presbyterian churches as their pulpit guest these past seventeen years. I have preached in every part of this great land and in every conceivable demographic category—uptown, downtown, out-of-town. I have been in churches located in the inner city, the suburbs, and the countryside. Without

¹⁰ Office of Theology and Worship, “2000 Report to the Church,” 2–3.

exaggeration I can tell you that in at least ninety percent of the pulpits it has been my privilege to occupy, you can stand there and palpably feel the energy in the congregation. These are *Presbyterian* churches that are alive and well in a denomination that is sick and dying. These are local churches that are growing amidst national decline.

Reflecting upon my experience, I have asked myself what it is that these vibrant churches have in common. Certainly it is not demographics. These are not suburban churches that are feeding off the decline of inner-city congregations. What these healthy congregations have in common, so far as I can discern, is one thing. They all have strong pastoral leadership. And by that I mean the following.

First, these congregations have pastors who love their people, and the people know it. In Johannine terms, these are “shepherds” who know their “flocks” by name, and their “flocks” recognize their voices and follow them. These pastors have won the right to be heard because they have established trust through the hard work of pastoral care. The people of God know the difference between being served and being used; they will respond to pastors who care about them because Jesus Christ cares for them.

Second, these are pastors who have “good news” to proclaim to their congregations and who do it well. To me the gospel *is* Jesus Christ. It is Jesus Christ in the fullness of his redemptive reality and saving significance for human life. Jesus is God with us and God for us. It belongs to the good news that this God loves us enough, takes us seriously enough, to hold us accountable for our behavior. This God judges sin in order to deliver us from its power over us. The pastors of these growing churches I have visited are theologians who are serious about Jesus Christ and the difference he makes in human life. In their preaching they connect the reality of Christ with the lives of their people. And where that happens, the church thrives.

Third, these pastors have a vision for mission that they have been able to share with their congregations. Through their preaching, teaching, and pastoral care they have created a vision of mission that their congregations have made their own. Mission today, of course, is no longer what Christians do on the frontiers of Christendom. Mission begins at our doorstep in a post-Christendom society. Most everywhere I have been I have found congregations engaged in ministry and mission to their communities.

So there you have it. Strong pastoral leadership is the key to healthy congregations. A church will thrive when it has a pastor who loves the people, who has something redemptive to preach and does it well, and who envisions a congregational mission that the people make their own.

If I am making it sound easy, please realize that it is not. Pastoral ministry requires a lot of work. Fifty-hour weeks are common. Compensation is often underwhelming. Working with people can be difficult. A seasoned pastor recently sent me a copy of his PIF (Personal Information Form), which I read with interest. In one paragraph he explains how his vision of pastoral ministry has changed over the years. He begins with the metaphor of pastor as shepherd, an image formed by Sunday school pictures of Jesus the Good Shepherd with a lamb over one arm, with a crook in the other hand, and striding out in front as the flock dutifully follows. Along the way, however, he learned that in Jesus' time shepherds did not lead the sheep but followed them. Then comes this classic line: "You can just imagine what they had to walk through." He speaks the truth, of course, but the whole truth is that you must watch where you walk in any other line of work as well.

Today, in addition to the ordinary resistance pastors meet to their leadership, there is the new phenomenon of the *clergy killers*. In his book by that title G. Lloyd Rediger speaks of "people who intentionally target pastors for serious injury or destruction."¹¹ He describes these people as destructive, determined, deceitful, and even demonic. Do not be fooled by the alliteration. This is a serious matter. I have known more than one pastor who discovered that ministers do not have tenure.

So now we are back to the apostle Paul's outrageous defense of his own pastoral ministry before the Corinthians. We find ourselves asking why, given the trouble and the risks, anyone in his or her right mind would become a pastor of a church in our postmodern, deconstructionist, anti-leader world. The only answer I know is Paul's answer. If you are called to preach the gospel, you have no real choice. *Anangkē* has been laid upon you. You have been fated to proclaim God's good news to the people of God and to the world.

But how do you know whether you have been called? That is like asking how you know when you are in love. There is one answer to both questions: When it happens you will know. No one's call experience is exactly like another's. Paul was knocked off his horse by a blinding vision on the way to Damascus. I have never known a pastor who was called that dramatically. For me, as an eighteen-year-old Marine, it was simply a matter of discovering what a redemptive difference Jesus Christ made in my life. And that posed a question that I could not escape: If Christ has made that difference to me, why not to others as well? And if that is a possibility, what was I going to do about

¹¹ G. Lloyd Rediger, *Clergy Killers: Guidance for Pastors and Congregation under Attack* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 8.

it? Eventually, like Paul, I realized that I had no choice. I was fated to preach the gospel.

There is one common factor in the call experience, however. It is driven by the gospel. No Christ, no gospel. No gospel, no church. No church, no pastorate. No pastorate, no call. It is my prayer for you who are sitting here tonight wondering what God is calling you to do with the rest of your lives, that you will know the answer to your question in due season. I pray that while you are thinking, worrying, and agonizing over the issue you will stay open to God's call to the pastorate. For, as I said at the beginning, there is no work in the world that is more interesting, more challenging, and more gratifying than the work of pastoral ministry. Among the honors that have come to me across the years, I can think of none greater than when a member of my congregation has introduced me to a friend by saying, "I would like you to meet my pastor."

Holy Places

by ROBERT MERRIHEW ADAMS

Robert Merriew Adams, Professor of Philosophy at Yale University and Chair of the Princeton Theological Seminary Board of Trustees, preached this sermon in Miller Chapel at the Service of Rededication of the Chapel on October 9, 2000.

TEXTS: 1 KINGS 8:1-30; 1 PETER 2:4-10

I REMEMBER a number of journeys my family made, when I was a child, between Albany, NY and Philadelphia. That was before the New Jersey Turnpike or the Interstate Highway System existed. We traveled on U.S. Route 1 through central New Jersey. It seemed we always stopped in Princeton, sometimes for a book to be consulted in the old Lenox Library. The rest of the family jokingly called Princeton “the Holy City” because my father, Arthur M. Adams, a Princeton Seminary alumnus in the class of 1934, found it so hard to pass near Princeton without stopping. “The Holy City”: That is not exactly a Presbyterian way of talking. We knew that, and it was part of the fun of it.

The Bible, in both testaments, is pervaded with ambivalence about the idea of a temple or holy place. The archetype of this biblical ambivalence, perhaps, is Jacob, who erected a commemorative pillar and called the place Bethel, “house of God,” because he received there the revelation that God is everywhere. Or at any rate that is what the revelation meant in the presbyterianized interpretation I learned as a child.

The book of Exodus contains four chapters of detailed plans for the construction of a sanctuary. But what they describe, and prescribe, is not a holy *place*. It is the tabernacle, a glorified tent, a portable, movable sanctuary, to be erected now in one place, now in another, as the holy people follow God’s guidance. When King David proposes to build a temple to house the ark of God, God responds:

Would you build me a house to dwell in? I have not dwelt in a house from the day I brought up the people of Israel from Egypt to this day, but I have been moving about in a tent for my dwelling. In all the places where I have moved with all the people of Israel, did I speak a word with any of the judges of Israel . . . , saying, “Why have you not built me a house of cedar?” (2 Sam 7:5-7)

On the other hand, God does add in the end, without explanation, that David’s son, who will reign after him, “shall build a house for my name” (2 Sam 7:13).

And build it he did. When Solomon comes to dedicate the new temple, in a sumptuous prayer, he seems to have no doubt of the religious, and even salvific, importance of the holy "place." Yet the first word he dares to say about the temple in that prayer is this: "But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have built!" (1 Kgs 8:27).

We may read the New Testament as less committed than the Old to the holy *place*. The great speech of Stephen in Acts, which leads to his martyrdom, seems sharply critical of the concept of the temple and of its forms of worship. The idea of a temple is spiritualized in this evening's New Testament lesson, where Christians themselves are invited to be "like living stones . . . built into a spiritual house" (1 Pet 2:5), as it is when Paul asks, "Do you not know that you are God's temple?" (1 Cor 3:16). Jesus declares that "the hour is coming and now is when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth," rather than in Jerusalem or in the holy place of the Samaritans (John 4:23). He predicts that not one stone of the temple in Jerusalem will be left upon another (Mark 13:2).

And yet Jesus would not have been crucified when he was if he had been willing at a certain time to leave Jerusalem. We can hardly understand the story of Jesus without recognizing how important it was to him and to his sense of his vocation to be and to worship in the holy city of his people. Paul too went, as is generally believed, to his martyrdom because he felt that he needed to be in the temple in Zion for a feast.

The tendency to spiritualize the idea of a holy place has been strong in the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition. We believe that the *people* of God are the true temple of God, and they can worship God in any place. True, very true. Yet we too have our holy places. Miller Chapel is not just any old building, and most of us can think of places of worship that have a special meaning for us.

How should it be otherwise? For while all places may be the same to God, they cannot be so to us creatures of the earth, to us rational mammals. As the phenomenon of homesickness reminds us, it seems to be natural to human beings to spend most of their lives in a relatively few familiar places. Our own homes and our own offices, if we are fortunate enough to have them, are very important to us, and we care in a special way about what happens in them. Similarly we are likely to have special feelings about our own houses of worship.

Not all special places have the same meaning for us. We invest different places with different meanings as part of the ordering of our lives. Many of us

would not sleep easily in a room that is not a bedroom, and most churches would resist putting up a ping-pong table in front of the pulpit.

Holiness is not just any special meaning a place may have. If places can be holy at all, they are as physical links that connect us with spiritual meaning—commonly by connecting us with other people with whom we share that meaning. I am enough of an early modern Protestant to think that the physical may not have more than subordinate importance, either spiritually or metaphysically. It remains, however, that our contact with each other—and with Jesus—is mediated by things we can see and touch: the mouths of parents and teachers from whom we learned about God; Bibles in which the story of Jesus has been preserved; the water, wine, and bread of the sacraments; and also, less fundamental and less indispensable no doubt, but still important to most of us, the architectural structures that help us, again and again, to mark off and recognize and experience as coherent, amid the often unmanageable flux of life, an event that is our common worship of God. And when a structure has been used in that way for many years, it may also become a physical link with the spiritual lives of people who have gone before us in the faith. This chapel is such a place. It is a place where we have prayed with others. For some of us its walls ring with voices now silent that have inspired us—voices of teachers and friends who live in Christ but tread the earth no longer. For the Seminary community it is a physical link with the faith of generations of its members reaching back through almost the whole history of the Seminary. Time would fail me—as the writer of Hebrews (11:32) says—time would fail me to tell of all who prayed in this room—of Charles Hodge and Josef Hromadka, of John Mackay and James McCord, of teachers of Christ with perspectives as different as J. Gresham Machen and Paul Lehmann, of those like Francis James Grimké, Muriel Van Orden Jennings, and Eugene Carson Blake who opened new doors for the church, and of those like Ashbel Green Simonton and James Reeb, who gave their lives to spread the gospel of Christ and to declare God's will for justice.

The special meaning of this place is in its being set apart for our common worship of God. According to 1 Pet 2:9, we are called to be “a royal priesthood.” What for? “To declare the excellences [the *aretai*] of the one who called [us] out of darkness into his marvelous light.” In other words, to praise God. To thank God—yes—for our salvation, but more than that, to praise the divine being that is wonderful in itself before it is wonderful for us—the divine light that is marvelous for us because first it is marvelous in itself. First Peter assigns God's people the role of declaring God's *aretai*. The King James Version and the Revised Standard Version translate *aretai* as

“praises” and “wonderful deeds,” respectively; but the word is the usual Greek word for “virtues,” and I believe that even though we are praising one who has saved us, the text in speaking of God’s *aretai* rightly orients our praise toward the intrinsic virtues or excellences of the divine nature that ground praises and wonderful deeds but that far transcend God’s relations to *us*. I believe P. T. Forsyth was right in saying that God “is so much to us because He is more to Himself,” that hallowing God’s name “was the first function of [Christ’s] Cross,” and that “we have no final [well-being] but our share in that worship and glory of the Father by the Son.”¹

As a royal priesthood, the people of God does not absolutely require, but naturally wants, houses of worship. At a Christian theological school no place on the campus is more important than the space that is designed to help structure our common worship. For this is where we gather, and need to know that we are gathered, to do that which is most truly and centrally ours to do: to praise God.

In the church we sometimes hear objections to the spending of money and effort to adorn our worship—claims that the resources should go elsewhere. Those protests may not always be pointless; the Bible is very clear that worship that turns its back on the needs of the world and avoids efforts to do good concretely is not authentic worship of God. And yet we far too easily forget the magnitude of the good that is offered to the world in worship, perhaps in part because we so easily overestimate the magnitude of the good we will be able to accomplish in the world. Those of us who have been pastors have probably learned, in trying to do it, that it is much harder truly to help a person, and that we have fewer real opportunities to do it, than we may have imagined when we first set out to be helpers. The good we can do is always fragmentary—a bit here and a bit there. It is insecure and very likely to be impermanent. It is apt to be morally ambiguous, for we are sinners and live among sinners. In fighting for the right we are very likely to do some wrong as well. The great, pure, and permanent good for which we long is at home only in God. There is a love for the Good, and a desire to be purely and wholly for the Good, that finds in our share in the worship and glory of the Father by the Son a fulfillment it can find nowhere else. The possibility of that relation to the divine perfection is a gift of inestimable value to humanity in its finitude and sin.

We rightly rejoice in the beauty of this place and of the worship that fills it tonight. We hope and pray that in the years that Miller Chapel will see, God

¹ Peter Taylor Forsyth, *The Justification of God: Lectures for War-Time on a Christian Theodicy* (London: Duckworth, 1916), 3–4.

will give a new vision and a new birth of spiritual power and vitality to the Presbyterian and Reformed churches. But we do not know that that will happen. That is in God's hands, not in ours. Even insofar as it rests in human hands, it is in countless hands besides ours. It depends on how millions of other people respond to God's leading. We do not and should not control that. What does rest simply in our hands, and on our tongues, is our praise of God. That ability is gift enough to claim our everlasting thanks.

And so to God alone "be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all generations, for ever and ever. Amen" (Eph 3:21).

The Renovation of Miller Chapel

by JAMES F. KAY

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WHAT FOLLOWS is an account of the work of the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee that culminated in the rededication of the Chapel on October 9, 2000. It offers a record both to our constituency and for our posterity of the decisions reached by the Committee and the historical data and theological criteria informing them. This report is not exhaustive. It focuses on Miller Chapel, with only cursory mention of Scheide Hall, and, in regard to the Chapel, concentrates primarily on the worship space. (A companion article by Martin Tel addresses in detail the construction and installation of the Joe R. Engle Organ by Paul Fritts and Company, Organ Builders.)

Miller Chapel, completed in 1834 by architect-builder Charles Steadman, is the oldest house of worship in continuous use in Princeton.¹ Named in 1893 in honor of Samuel Miller (1769-1850), the Seminary's second professor, it is the second oldest building on the campus after Alexander Hall (1817). Essentially a Presbyterian meetinghouse, with an attached Greek Revival portico mustering six Doric columns, Miller Chapel expresses the founders' vision of "enlightened piety." A place where faith and reason meet, the Chapel's architecture weds the scriptural convictions of Reformed worship with the democratic ideals of the early American republic. Thus, Miller Chapel is an icon reflecting the values of the Protestant Reformation, the European Enlightenment, and the American Revolution. This rich architectural patrimony has been further textured by layers of transformation wrought in the major renovations of 1874 and 1933.

I. THE COMMITTEE

President Thomas W. Gillespie on January 10, 1995 invited six members of the Princeton Seminary community "to serve on an ad hoc committee commissioned to explore the needs of Miller Chapel for serious renovation and remodeling as well as the construction of a chapel annex to house the offices of the Campus Pastor and Director of the Chapel and the Director of

¹ For an overview of Steadman's career, see Constance M. Grief, Mary W. Gibbons, and Elizabeth G. C. Menzies, *Princeton Architecture: A Pictorial History of Town and Campus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 89-94.

Music, plus attendant needs such a building might serve." All six persons agreed to serve. They were: James F. Kay (named chair), Joe R. Engle Associate Professor of Homiletics and Liturgics; Frederick F. Lansill, Vice President for Financial Affairs; Joel Mattison, M.D. (Class of 1954); Michael Livingston, Campus Pastor and Director of the Chapel; David A. Weadon, C. F. Seabrook Director of Music and Lecturer in Church Music; and Kathryn A. Johnson, Director of Student Relations. By February 1995 the Committee was augmented with Trustee Rosemary Hall Evans. (James H. Moorhead, Bridge Professor of American Church History, was also invited to serve but was precluded from doing so initially by his sabbatical leave and later by his new duties as editor of *Presbyterian History*.)

With the completion of phase one of the Committee's work, which produced the Architectural Program, President Gillespie reconstituted the Committee of six, this time including Rosemary Hall Evans. (Weadon, by then gravely ill, was released from the Committee.) All six agreed to serve again, with Kay continuing as chair. In the absence of Moorhead, President Gillespie appointed to the Committee James C. Deming, Assistant Professor of Modern European Church History. Martin Tel, successor to the late David Weadon as Seabrook Director of Music, was named to the Committee in February 1997. Michael Livingston continued to serve on the Committee until his departure from the Seminary in January 1999. The remaining members served through the last (and ninth) meeting of the full Committee on February 26, 1999, thereby concluding four years of service.²

II. THE CONSULTANTS

In consultation with the Administration preparatory to the first meeting of the Committee on May 12, 1995, Kay secured the appointment of Edward Anders Sövik, FAIA, of Northfield, Minnesota, as the liturgical architectural consultant to the Committee. Sövik was well qualified for this role. In the course of his distinguished career, he had worked on over three hundred church projects and served at various times as chair of the Committee on Religious Buildings of the American Institute of Architects, director and president of the Guild for Religious Architecture, director and secretary of the Liturgical Conference, and president of the Interfaith Research Center

² Between the final meeting of the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee and the rededication of the Chapel, a period of about eighteen months, Kay, Lansill (and later, John Gilmore, his successor as Vice President for Financial Affairs), Mattison, and Evans continued to serve in an advisory capacity to the Administration. During the construction process, meetings of this group were coordinated and chaired by John Gilmore.

for Religion and Architecture. Recipient of numerous honors and design awards, he was the author of the influential book, *Architecture for Worship*.³ He served as the principal drafter of the "Architectural Program for the Renovation of Miller Chapel and the Construction of an Annex," adopted by the Committee on September 8, 1995 and approved by the Board of Trustees in October of that year. He also advised the Committee on the appropriate protocols for the architectural competitions en route to the selection of the design architects on January 5, 1996. Sövik again returned to the Seminary early in January 1999 to tape a video segment on the history of church architecture for use in interpreting the work of the Committee to its several constituencies.

Three members of the Administration also made invaluable contributions to the work of the Committee. Dean James F. Armstrong, based on his experience with the Luce Library project, urged early on the hiring of an architectural consultant who would assist in the preparation of the narrative building program and be distinct from, and independent of, the design architect(s). He later participated in the Committee's deliberations on the selection of the design architects. William O. Harris, Seminary Librarian for Archives and Special Collections, made available to the Committee documents such as blueprints (the oldest from 1906), photographs (the earliest of the exterior dating from the 1850s or 60s; of the interior dating from sometime after the 1874 renovation, with an interior sketch from 1879), and historical accounts, including a brief one of his own.⁴ Joicy R. Becker-Richards, Director of Educational Media, together with her dedicated crew, oversaw the production of several videotaped presentations on Miller Chapel for use with the Seminary's various constituencies. In addition to the contributions of these administrators, Faculty Secretary Lois Haydu provided the Committee office support.

III. THE ARCHITECTS

Following the adoption of the Architectural Program in the fall of 1995, the Committee proceeded to select design architects. Inviting some dozen firms to submit schematic drawings and proposals, three finalists made presentations on January 5, 1996. After careful deliberation the Committee selected the architectural firm of Ford, Farewell, Mills, and Gatsch, Architects of Princeton, New Jersey to plan the renovation of Miller Chapel and the

³ (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973).

⁴ "Miller Chapel," 21 March 1995.

construction of a companion building to house pastoral and chapel staff and to provide adequate music rehearsal space, all guided by the Architectural Program.

There were three compelling reasons for the selection of Ford, Farewell, Mills, and Gatsch. First, the firm had an outstanding, award-winning record in projects involving historical preservation, including the New Jersey State House in Trenton. Second, the firm had previously worked with the Seminary in restoration, including the exterior repair and repointing of Alexander Hall. Third, the Committee recognized that day-to-day communication between the contractors and the design architect would be essential, and the Princeton location of the latter was regarded as advantageous to this end. Moreover, since the boundaries of the Historical District of the Borough of Princeton obtruded over a portion of Miller Chapel, any renovation needed the approval of the Borough Historical Commission, a body with which this architectural firm had already worked closely on other projects. The Committee's judgment appeared confirmed by subsequent events. At the final meeting of the Committee on February 26, 1999 it was announced that Ford, Farewell, Mills, and Gatsch had been selected by their peers as Architectural Firm of the Year in New Jersey, and that Michael Farewell, principal design architect, had been elected a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

In addition to Farewell, the architectural team consisted of James Gatsch, administrative architect, Chris Boyer and Heidi Fichtenbaum, project architects, and Anne Weber, preservation architect. Michael Schnoering was project manager representing the architects, and German Martinez Jr. was project manager representing the Seminary. Haverstick-Borthwick Company served as general contractors.

IV. GUIDELINES FOR RENOVATION

At the Committee's first meeting on May 12, 1995 general discussion led to the emergence of five guidelines for the Miller Chapel renovation. These criteria provided a context for the Committee's subsequent discussions and decisions. Formulated on behalf of the Committee by its chair, and adopted by the Committee on July 24, 1995, the following guidelines (with commentary added here) were incorporated into the Architectural Program that subsequently guided the architects in their design proposals:

(1) *Renovation should be faithful to the historical and theological heritage of Princeton Seminary.* This first criterion indicates that the Committee would proceed in its deliberations by becoming thoroughly acquainted with the

history of Miller Chapel and its previous renovations and by planning a renovation congruent with Reformed theological perspectives. This first criterion, stressing the importance of institutional continuity and identity, is essentially a conservative guideline; but it also served as a winnowing or reformatory guideline insofar as it called to account the adequacy of previous renovations in expressing the architectural implications of the Reformation.

(2) *Renovation is not repristination. A chapel is not simply a museum but a house for the people of God today. Therefore, authentic restoration must take account of present needs:* "What would the original architect-builder, Charles Steadman, do today?"⁵ With this criterion, the Committee signaled that it did not envision a return to the original 1833–1834 Steadman design, at least with respect to the interior of the Chapel.⁶ In the words of the Architectural Program, "That would give insufficient attention to Presbyterians of later generations; it would for instance, lead the Seminary back to the time when there was no choir and no musical instrument."⁷ Nevertheless, the Committee placed itself squarely in the Reformed tradition by regarding the structure as a shelter for God's people at worship, and not as a "house of God" in the Gothic sense of sacred space marking the Divine Presence.⁸ Therefore, the present needs of the people assembled for worship (e.g., disability access, acoustics, and safety, to name only three) were regarded as worthy of serious attention.

(3) *Beauty should be a consideration, not simply as decorative ornament, but in relation to the Chapel's liturgical and communal functions.* Here the Committee recognized an aesthetic criterion. Throughout its deliberations, discussions frequently considered the aesthetic implied by Reformed iconoclasm, Greek Revival architecture, and the degree to which materials used in the construction and furnishings should be "true" to what they are, rather than disguised by artifice. The criterion of beauty enjoined that the forms in which the beautiful was expressed should be related to the functional requirements of the liturgical assembly.

(4) *Given unforeseen future needs, some built-in flexibility may be advisable.* This criterion is admittedly the most tentative of the set. It reflects the Commit-

⁵ A similar question may have guided the 1933 renovation: "To Delano and Aldrich was given the task not only of restoration but of re-creation, perhaps of doing what Steadman would have done had he lived in 1933" (H. L. McGill Wilson, "Miller Chapel," *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 43/3 [Winter 1950]: 26).

⁶ "Although it is legitimate to have in one's worship some ancient items (just as one has an antique armchair among one's furniture) the cult is not a museum, and if it facilitates access to another world, it is not to a world that has gone by forever, but to a world that is to come" (Jean-Jacques von Allmen, *Worship: Its Theology and Practice* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1965], 97–8).

⁷ "Architectural Program for the Renovation of Miller Chapel and the Construction of an Annex," Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, 6.

⁸ Sövik, *Architecture for Worship*, 23–39.

tee's awareness that not every contingency can be anticipated by an architectural renovation. It also reflects the Committee's awareness that the Chapel also had functions (such as concerts) other than worship, while at the same time indicating the Committee's reluctance to allow the symbols of pulpit and table to be trivialized by daily reconfiguration. Therefore, this criterion served more to identify or tag the issue of flexible space as one inevitably requiring discussion in considering specific design proposals.

(5) *Any annex must enhance and not eclipse the architectural integrity and function of Miller Chapel.* This final criterion pertained to the construction of an "annex" or adjacent building and its relation to Miller Chapel. The Committee was most concerned that the integrity and function of the Chapel not be compromised in any way by an addition or proximate edifice of overpowering proportions. Suffice it to say that the eventual scale and location of Scheide Hall were largely determined with this criterion firmly in mind.

V. LAYERS OF TRANSFORMATION

Since its original construction in 1833–1834, Miller Chapel has undergone, in the words of Michael Farewell, "layers of transformation." These layers are much like stratified sedimentary deposits, one on top of the other, in temporal sequence. Historical research has enabled us to identify the contributions and infer the vision of the earlier builders and previous renovators, all of whom contributed to the composite architectural artifact known as Miller Chapel.

The 1834 Meetinghouse

The original building was a 60 x 45 ft. brick, whitewashed structure that comprised a meetinghouse fronting originally on Mercer Street between Alexander Hall and the Alexander house. With respect to the interior, all that remains of the original building is the gallery, its four slender support columns, its parapet of five sections (each with its guilloche molding), the stairs connecting it to the vestibule, and the pews in the gallery with their curved end rails and sunken side panels.⁹ Investigation during the renovation determined that the original color of the interior walls was green.¹⁰ The

⁹ Constance M. Grieff, "Miller Chapel: A Documentary History," September 1997, 2–3. The wave motif, simple, square balusters, hand rail, and newel post all indicate that the stair leading from the vestibule to the gallery is original. Similar features are found on the stairs of 10 Nassau Street, where Steadman had his offices (p. 14).

¹⁰ See the report prepared by Conservation Resources, Inc.: "Conservation Services For: Miller Chapel, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey," June 1997, esp. 36–48.

building was an auditory or "nave church," essentially one room (opening beyond a small vestibule). While no sketches or photographs survive of the original interior, it is likely that it resembled the oratory of Alexander Hall, with its pulpit desk, and the one-room pattern of Nassau (formerly, First) Presbyterian Church, Princeton, which was also built by Steadman in 1836, shortly after the completion of Miller Chapel. There was no center aisle, since it eliminated the best seating space for hearing the word.¹¹ There is no evidence that the building housed a musical instrument or provided designated space for a choir.

The theological significance of the one-room meetinghouse can hardly be overemphasized. What is being instantiated is the Reformed understanding of the common priesthood, of the one people of God, in opposition to the two-room Gothic church, which assigns the baptized faithful to the nave, while reserving the chancel, with its altar, for the ordained officers (and their attendants), thereby dividing the body of Christ into two castes of clergy and lay, with "sacred spaces" reserved primarily for those in "holy orders." The meetinghouse is thus an architectural embodiment of Reformed theology.

Steadman attached to his meetinghouse a portico in the Greek Revival style of the period with six fluted Doric columns executed in wood. The Doric is the most austere of the Greek architectural orders, and these columns stand as sentinels guarding the elevated entrance.¹² Behind them, the exterior portico wall was originally stuccoed with scribed lines suggesting stone blocks. The Chapel exterior, devoid of any "overt visual sign or symbol," such as a cross, "had, and has, no ecclesiastical affectation; it is a secular style, and therefore appropriate for a 'secular religion.'" ¹³ According to Edward Sövik:

Charles Steadman, if we are to read his mind by studying his architecture, was a disciple of Vitruvius and Palladio, typical of the sophisticated architect-builders of the time. Beauty, according to Vitruvius, results in part from respecting conventions, custom and tradition. Its other source is the delectable, the visual pleasure of fine proportions and relationships.

¹¹ "Architectural Program," 8.

¹² We can only speculate whether the number six carried symbolic significance. In the Christian tradition, six is "a 'created' extension of three, since it is a sum of the first three integers (one + two + three)." Moreover, there were six days of creation, and, hence, Augustine could write of the "six ages of man." See Gary Wills, "Augustine's Magical Decade," *The New York Review of Books* (May 6, 1999), 30. Interestingly, the chapel of the University of Georgia at Athens, completed in 1832 in the Greek Revival style, also has a portico of six Doric columns. The exterior of this building bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Miller Chapel.

¹³ "Architectural Program," 6. See also, Wilson, "Miller Chapel," 25-6. For the case that church buildings should serve "secular" uses, see Hugh T. Kerr, "Building the Reformed Image," *Reformed and Presbyterian World* 27 (September 1963): 304-10.

The choice, here, of the Doric order followed Vitruvius' judgment for a building of this use, and the portico proportions are "correct." Dimensional relationships were generally consistent with the clear orderliness of arithmetic ratios. In detail the austerity of the Doric was intensified by the omission of sculptures and decorative or symbolic motifs, suggesting that Steadman responded to the rational and coherent theology of Calvin and the discipline of Presbyterian piety.¹⁴

Thus, in the first architectural layer comprising Miller Chapel, we find fused the Vetruvian aesthetic of symmetry and proportionality, the chaste restraint and discipline of the Doric order, and an absence of religious affectation. Moreover, the one-room meetinghouse, as the architectural correlate of the undivided body of Christ, expresses a Reformed ecclesiology.

The 1874 Renovation

The 1874 renovation of Miller Chapel, prompted by the Faculty, was the gift of John C. Green of New York, a wealthy benefactor, who hired architect William A. Potter to design the improvements.¹⁵ Potter retained Steadman's one-room interior but, with the addition of a small, polygonal domed apse, converted the building into a proper, if small, basilica. In other words, the original meetinghouse now had, in addition to its front portico, a rear apse, thereby constituting a basilica.¹⁶ As with the North American meetinghouses of the colonial and early national periods, so the basilicas of the Roman Empire were essentially secular buildings and not temples or "sacred spaces." (Significantly, the earliest church buildings, erected by Christians in the fourth century, followed the basilica pattern.) Thus, despite the imitative Gothic fenestration of the 1874 renovation, replete with arches and colored glass, together with "frescoes" (apparently of geometric designs), Potter maintained continuity with the secular character of the original structure, leaving largely undisturbed the Chapel's one-room configuration. What offended the sensibilities of Victorians was not the one-room meetinghouse,

¹⁴ "Architectural Program," 9.

¹⁵ Harris, "Miller Chapel," 2; Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 3. Potter would later design the Seminary's Stuart Hall. For an account of his work, see Sarah Bradford Landau, *Edward T. and William A. Potter: American Victorian Architects* (New York: Garland, 1979) and "William Appleton Potter" in *Macmillan Dictionary of Architects* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), 467-8.

¹⁶ Sövik comments in this regard, "The interior was originally one room, modified by a small apse. This niche was probably an architectural reference to the early basilica, surely not an intentional 'holy place' for the clergy" ("Architectural Program," 7).

but, if we can cite their own comments, its sparse decoration. In contrast to their own homes, the Steadman interior was characterized as "exceedingly plain and artless," as well as "bald and uninviting."¹⁷

The Victorians also brought a new, progressive notion into church architecture: comfort. They installed a central furnace, gas lamps, as well as carpeting and upholstered new pews (except in the gallery, now enlarged, where the old pews apparently remained in use). These domestic comforts of the rising middle class were now finding their way into America's public buildings, including churches. The first evidence of an organ also dates from the 1874 renovation. It was a small one in a freestanding case that might have been found in a typical parlor. It was installed on recommendation of the Faculty.¹⁸ The 1874 renovation further introduced memorial plaques, such as one might find in an English parish church, commemorating deceased professors of the Seminary. The plaques were hung in the new apse behind an axially centered pulpit and massive, dark (mahogany?) communion table. A sketch from *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* of 17 May 1879 indicates congregational seating on three sides of the pulpit and table, while a photograph from 1899 shows large, low-legged and high-backed, chairs for the presiding ministers. They are set within the apse, behind the pulpit and table, all on a platform raised two steps above the congregation.¹⁹

The 1933 Renovation

In 1930, as the Great Depression began to grip America, the Seminary's Trustees considered demolishing Miller Chapel, replacing it with a new structure, and building a new dining hall. As Constance Grieff has commented, "poverty was the handmaiden of preservation" and, overtaken by the national crisis, neither the proposed dining hall nor a new chapel were built. Instead, Miller Chapel would be "restored."²⁰

For this task the Trustees selected the architectural firm of Delano and Aldrich of New York. William Adams Delano and Chester Holmes Aldrich had established their partnership in 1903 and gone on to design a number of country homes for America's aristocrats, including the Rockefellers, Astors,

¹⁷ Cited by Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 2.

¹⁸ Grieff reports that "by 1873 the faculty was recommending that the walls should be frescoed, the pulpit and pews modernized, the heating be improved, and an instrument of music be purchased" ("Miller Chapel," 3). Significantly, the purpose of the organ was "to assist the singing" (*Princeton Press*, 22 August 1874, cited by Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 4).

¹⁹ Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 14, 20.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

Havemeyers, and Whitneys.²¹ Delano and Aldrich proposed that the Chapel be rotated ninety degrees and relocated behind Alexander House facing west toward the green and aligned on an axis directly opposite of Hodge Hall. This was, in fact, done.²²

The wholesale removal of the Victorian carpeting, upholstering, massive communion table, and arched fenestration conveyed the impression that Delano and Aldrich were "restoring" Miller Chapel "to its original colonial simplicity."²³ Nothing could have been further from the truth, and not simply because Miller Chapel had been built in the early national rather than the colonial period! In repudiating the Victorian interior design, it is true that "the clarity of the original interior was restored in clean surfaces and with clear blown-glass window panes (a faint lavender color was discernable)."²⁴ Nevertheless, the 1933 renovation did not restore the meetinghouse of a century earlier, but marked a major and radical departure from it. Delano and Aldrich converted the original one-room interior of the Steadman meetinghouse into a two-room church. This was accomplished (1) by extending the building some thirty-two feet, with an additional fifth bay of windows, thereby enabling the insertion of a large twenty-foot square chancel between the resulting "nave" and the former apse,²⁵ (2) by creating a center aisle or processional space running the length of the new nave, with subsidiary aisles retained along the walls, and (3) by separating the chancel from the nave. The latter was accomplished by raising the chancel three steps above the nave floor, by a crossbeam, and by a chancel ceiling slightly lower than that of the nave. The cincturing of the original interior into two rooms was further accented by narrowing the chancel's opening to the nave by means of dividing the chancel itself, with two flanking side rooms (vestry and sacristy) and antiphonal choir seating for twenty singers. The latter were separated from the nave by a large chancel pulpit balanced with a smaller lectern, each with its respective "modesty screens" further bisecting the two rooms. A small communion table was now moved as far from the congregation as possible, shoved up against the wall, a location more appropriate to a Gothic high altar.

What had happened in the intervening century separating the work of

²¹ Ibid; Wilson, "Miller Chapel," 26-7. See also Steven McLeod Bedford, "Delano and Aldrich," in *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, 1:538-9.

²² Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 6.

²³ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 10 October 1933, 9:6, cited by Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 7.

²⁴ "Architectural Program," 2.

²⁵ What had been the apse was turned into a sounding chamber for a new, four-manual Gottfried organ, whose mechanisms and pipes took up six rooms of the Chapel basement (Grieff, "Miller Chapel," 9).

Steadman from that of Delano and Aldrich was the growing influence in America of two momentous architectural developments: the Gothic Revival and the so-called Colonial Revival, which was not so much “colonial” as an eclectic conflation of several periods and styles. Certainly, the restoration of clear surfaces obscured by the Victorian decoration was characteristic of the Colonial Revival. But Delano and Aldrich’s new interior floor plan, creating a nave and “divided chancel” on a centered aisle, owed more to the nineteenth-century English Gothic Revival. Inspired by Augustus Pugin (1812–1852), an English architect and Roman Catholic convert, the fundamental principle of this architectural school was the conviction that “the Gothic structures of the Middle Ages were the only really appropriate patterns for what was called Christian architecture.”²⁶ By the time of the 1933 renovation the Gothic style had swept Princeton. Not only had neighboring Trinity Episcopal Church replaced its own Greek Revival structure with a Gothic building in 1868, but, by 1928, Princeton University itself had erected a monumental Gothic chapel designed by Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942).²⁷ Yet within fifty years, the two-room arrangement, undercut by the reforms of the Second Vatican Council,²⁸ was beginning to be acknowledged as anomalous for Miller Chapel. In 1974 “the first chancel riser was extended far enough into the nave to make room for a massive new Table within the space of the nave.”²⁹ The Reformed heritage was stirring.

VI. RETRIEVING THE REFORMED HERITAGE

Quite early in its deliberations, and based on a preliminary draft of the Architectural Program prepared by Sövik, the Committee on July 24, 1995 approved “in principle” the recovery of Steadman’s one-room design and “the placement of the choir in such a way that their performative role does not eclipse their liturgical role of leading the congregation, of which they are a part, in song and praise.”³⁰ The Committee, at this time, also approved the opening up of the “chancel/choir” area by eliminating the flanking side rooms

²⁶ Sövik, *Architecture for Worship*, 23. For more on Pugin and the Gothic Revival, see Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, bk. 2, *From Watts and Wesley to Martineau, 1690–1900*, vol. 4, *From Newman to Martineau, 1850–1900* (1962; reprint, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1996), 26–33. For an interpretation as to how and why the Reformed succumbed to the Gothic Revival, see Howard G. Hageman, “Liturgical Place,” *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 56 (February 1963): 29–39.

²⁷ Robert Gambee, *Princeton* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 85, 194–5.

²⁸ See O. Sönhgren, “Der Begriff des Sakralen im Kirchenbau,” in *Bild in Verkündigung: Festgabe Hanna Jursch* (1962), 157–74, esp. 168.

²⁹ “Architectural Program,” 3.

³⁰ Minutes of the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee, 24 July 1995, 3.

and by extending the “nave” ceiling/roof forward so that the entire worship room would have a seamless contiguous ceiling reinforcing the one-room character of the space. The fusing of the two rooms into one was strengthened further by the now completely contiguous side walls (which, fortuitously for the organ, angled slightly outward within the former chancel) and by a wood floor running uninterrupted for the entire length of the worship space.

As implemented in the renovation, it was determined that the Lord’s table, the seating for the presiding ministers, and the seating for the choir (with the exception of one row on a riser) should all be on the same level as the worshipping congregation. “This is deemed fitting in that (1) the Table and the liturgical president and action will be visible without the need for a one-step elevation; (2) liturgical presidency occurs in the act of preaching and presiding at the Lord’s Table; (3) the Table is for the whole company of the baptized and not only their ordained officers; (4) when not presiding, the ministers remain part of the worshipping congregation.”³¹ Similarly, the removal of all “modesty screens” opened up the worship space to greater ease of movement and physical accessibility to the Lord’s table.

Given the retention of the Gothic main aisle, emphasizing the centered axis of the worship space, it was determined that the Lord’s table continue to be centered on this axis in the “basilica position.” Mindful of the Reformed heritage of the meetinghouse, as well as the 1874 renovation, it was further determined that there be one substantial center for the reading *and* the proclamation of the word, a pulpit elevated four steps (principally for acoustical reasons) and centered on the main axis behind the Lord’s table.³² Word and sacrament were thus reunited symbolically and shown as central to the liturgical action. Around the table and pulpit the congregation could now gather on all four sides, with the choir understood and participating as part of the congregation.

The pulpit is a replica of that which graced Miller Chapel from 1933 to 1999. It is slightly broader than its model and is reached by a generous and graceful set of stairs. A movable lectern is attached, capable of holding both a large pulpit Bible and a sermon manuscript or notes. Thanks to the extraordinary acoustics of Miller Chapel, the spoken word by a trained speaker can be heard without artificial amplification. The pulpit can be placed

³¹ Minutes of the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee, 5 September 1997, 2.

³² Given the now longstanding Protestant enthusiasm for the Gothic divided chancel, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the Second Vatican Council envisioned a single ambo as the place where the scriptures would be read and the homily could be offered. See “General Instruction on the Roman Missal [1970],” in *Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Austin P. Flannery (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 272.

into storage for those few occasions when the Chapel is used for organ recitals and musical or choral concerts. Nevertheless, it is not readily moveable, and this secure anchorage serves to symbolize the permanent importance of the word of God read and proclaimed.

The Lord's table is a replica of a table that Wallace Nutting called "confessedly the most important in America," dating from the years 1650–1660, when it was used for communion at First Church, Salisbury, Massachusetts, and now part of the collection of the Hartford Atheneum in Connecticut.³³ James Becker, Cabinetmaker, of Wilder, Vermont, crafted the reproduction. At thirty-five inches, the table in Miller Chapel stands one inch higher than its venerable model in order to accommodate a standing eucharistic president. Significantly, it is still low enough to accommodate someone in a wheelchair who may preach or preside from the table.³⁴ On behalf of the Committee, Joel Mattison subsequently secured new communion ware for Miller Chapel to grace its substantial table. Boardman Silver-smiths, now of Meriden, Connecticut, and a firm dating to the eighteenth century, crafted several solid silver pieces: a flagon (11 1/4" high), one large (10 1/4" high) chalice, four smaller (7") chalices, one large (16" diameter) bread dish, and two (12" diameter) bread trays. In addition, Mattison secured a turned mahogany tray (15" diameter), after an eighteenth-century model used at Williamsburg, Virginia. The chalices are all typical of early nineteenth-century American pieces.

The Committee discussed, at more than one meeting, the appropriateness of a permanent baptismal font for Miller Chapel. The argument was made that there would be both catechetical and pedagogical value in having the symbol of Christian initiation visibly present in the Chapel. It would reinforce within the Seminary the importance and ecumenical significance of baptism, and it would provide a place where students could be trained in how to administer the sacrament. On the other hand, Miller Chapel is not a parish church under the governance of a session, which, in Presbyterian law, is the court that admits persons to baptism and, thereby, to church membership. There was also a concern that the placement of a font in Miller Chapel would encourage the practice of private baptism at variance with Presbyterian doctrine. For this reason, no permanent font was installed in keeping with the theological heritage of the Seminary.

Discussion also took place on the degree to which the renovated Chapel should adapt to the demands of "contemporary worship," insofar as that term

³³ Wallace Nutting, *Furniture Treasury* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), fig. 811.

³⁴ E-mail communication from Rolf Jacobson to James F. Kay, 27 April 2000.

denotes the use of electronic media. Given the speed of change in which media technologies are “morphing,” there was concern that anything undertaken at this time would be obsolete within a few years, if not months. There was also the concern that if the liturgy is overtaken by electronic media, then the chief criterion for worship becomes the quality of “production values.” The Committee was most reluctant to embrace such a criterion, associated as it is with entertainment, without prolonged theological reflection and cultural analysis. There was also anecdotal evidence that the contemporary worship movement is a way station for many Christians who then “move on,” so to speak, to more classical liturgical and musical expressions. For these reasons, the Committee did not proceed here with dramatic innovations. Nevertheless, provision was made for state-of-the-art electronic media and projection in the large, multipurpose second-floor room of Scheide Hall. A new Steinway concert piano, given by Dr. Sun Hee Kwak of the So-Mang Presbyterian Church in Seoul, Korea, also provides accompaniment in the Chapel.

The St. John’s Celtic cross from Iona, Scotland, which had abruptly appeared in the Chapel by student initiative in the latter years of President John A. Mackay’s tenure, presented its own problems. Meetinghouses of the Calvinist tradition generally eschewed crosses as “papistical,” and, to this day, none has surfaced at Nassau Presbyterian Church. Moreover, the Celtic cross was too small to suspend or to hang on a wall, even if appropriate wall space were available. The solid metal cross was also too heavy to serve as a processional cross, even if such were desirable. Given these circumstances, the Committee elected to affix the Celtic cross to a pole inserted into a floor standard, enabling it to be placed appropriately according to the celebration. In this way, the renovation preserved yet another portion of Miller Chapel’s complex legacy.

VII. PRESERVING A COMPLEX LEGACY

What had become clear through historical and archival research was that Miller Chapel had indeed experienced layers of transformation throughout its long lifetime. Each architectural epoch had deposited its legacy, and each of the two major renovations in 1874 and 1933 had displayed both gratitude and impatience with aspects of its inheritance.

As previously noted, the Committee did not interpret its commission to “renovate” as meaning to “repristinate.” For that reason, each of the sedimentary layers deposited by previous generations, or the concerns or values represented by those layers, is at least partially preserved in the

1999–2000 renovation. For example, the Committee was most concerned to protect and restore the remaining Steadman artifacts, namely, the exterior portico and the interior gallery. Accordingly, the stuccoed front of the building with scribing simulating stone was restored, but there was actually a transposition of the original color scheme of the exterior. With the approval of the Historical Commission, the Doric columns were painted white, as in the Delano and Aldrich renovation, and the side exterior walls, which were originally whitewashed in 1834, were painted cream. Again, no attempt was made to restore the original fenestration of the building; it remained that of the 1933 renovation. While the gallery was retained and refurbished, its flooring was restored to that of the linoleum, so excellent for acoustics and similar to that used in 1933, while the installation of an elevator at grade for disability access to the basement and main floor required the removal of some gallery pews. Safety concerns and disability access also led to the enlargement of the vestibule, extending it several feet forward under the entire gallery.

With respect to the 1874 Victorian renovation, its decision to introduce an organ into the building was reaffirmed. The modest height of the Chapel, together with the sounding requirements of an organ, determined that the instrument be located in an area near the former apse rather than moved to the gallery. Again, a Subcommittee on the Memorial Plaques chaired by Kathryn Johnson, recommended, and the Committee approved, that at least the Samuel Miller and Charles Hodge commemorative plaques of marble, dating from the 1874 renovation, undergo restoration and remain in the Chapel, but moved to the vestibule, where they now hang flanking the exterior door to the portico. (Subsequently, the B. B. Warfield and the Hodge family plaques of bronze were also restored and affixed to the walls flanking the entry door to the worship space.) The Committee further recommended that the remaining memorial plaques be restored and installed in other campus buildings, especially Stuart Hall, a Victorian-era structure.

The Victorian concern for the comfort of worshipers is also represented in the new building. Miller Chapel is now fully air-conditioned, with a central heating system, a state-of-the-art-sound and audio-taping system, enlarged restroom facilities (in the basement), and new recessed lighting with six neoclassical chandeliers accompanying the restored 1933 fixtures. A judicious use of carpet, limited to the basement and the Steadman stairs leading to the gallery, protects the Chapel's extraordinary acoustics.

Contemporary concern for public safety and accessibility find expression in a new "sprinklered" fire protection system and a new exit door and stairwell in the former apse leading to egress at grade, as well as the closing up of the steep

“pit” entrance to the basement and its replacement by a more modulated entry below the vestibule opposite Scheide Hall. Hospitality to the disabled is better afforded by the new elevator serving grade, basement, and first-floor levels, by code-mandated restroom facilities, by the elimination of chancel stairs, and by the provision for wheelchair seating within the rows of pews.

The Committee’s decision to return to the one-room interior of the original Steadman structure was taken with the view that the Delano and Aldrich renovation of 1933 should remain in place with respect to the following: Gothic center aisle and subsidiary wall aisles, gallery flooring, wainscoting and detailing of the worship room, fenestration, two circular lighting fixtures in neo-classical style centered on the main ceiling, and two stately, yet moderately exuberant, Corinthian columns and companion pilasters majestically flanking the worship space at a point formerly marking the division of the chancel and the nave. In addition, the replica “Queen Anne” chairs for the presiding ministers, introduced in the 1933 renovation, have been restored, and new ones made by James Becker for a total of four. In this way, the Committee preserved most of the “Colonial Revival” interior of 1933, while retiring those Gothic elements of the floor plan at sharp variance with the theological heritage of the Seminary.³⁵

VIII. CONCLUSION

All architectural witness to the word of God is, of course, penultimate, and renovation and reformation will again visit Miller Chapel in circumstances we cannot fully anticipate or imagine. When that time comes, our hope is that the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee of 1995–1999 will have left a sufficient trail of markers so that its intentions will be more than ciphers for those who follow. With joy and gratitude for all who have labored in planning, designing, building, crafting, and funding this project we say thank you on behalf of coming generations, and we release the work of our common labors for communal appropriation by the Seminary.

The hymn, “Father, Long Before Creation,” translated from Chinese by Francis P. Jones and set to the tune of “Miller Chapel” by David Hugh Jones in 1954, offers an appropriate conclusion, in its second verse, to the work of

³⁵ The 1999–2000 renovation was also accomplished without breaking the “footprint” of Miller Chapel as had occurred both in 1874, with the addition of the apse, and, again, in 1964, with the enlargement of the apse to accommodate a Möller electro-pneumatic organ.

the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee:

Though the world may change its fashion,
Yet our God is e'er the same;
His compassion and His covenant
Through all ages will remain.
God's own children, God's own children,
Must forever praise His name.³⁶

To God alone be the glory!

³⁶ In *The Hymnbook*, ed. David Hugh Jones (Richmond: Presbyterian Church in the United States, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Reformed Church in America, 1955), 107.

The Joe R. Engle Organ

by MARTIN TEL

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*Joyfully, heartily resounding, let every instrument and voice
Peal out the praise of grace abounding, calling the whole world to rejoice.
Trumpets and organs, set in motion such sounds as make the heavens ring;
All things that live in earth and ocean, sound forth the song, your praises bring.¹*
Erik Routley, 1972

SO SANG the Princeton Theological Seminary community at the dedication of the Joe R. Engle Organ. Erik Routley's versification of the ancient psalm reminds us of the long-standing identity of the organ as the instrument associated with the western church. Despite the church's hostility toward instruments, the organ was accepted into the worship space long before any other instruments, perhaps as early as the tenth century.² The organ entered not so much as the musical instrument we think of today, but rather as a symbol of the church and as an embodiment of the music of the spheres. Even today we should not overlook the import of this powerful symbol of unity and harmony, such a sound as makes the heavens ring.

But in the long evolution of the organ in the church, particularly its development through the Protestant traditions, it has become organic to our worship as the instrument which incites all to peal forth in praise. As the air is set in motion through the wood and metal of the organ, the very stuff of the earth, in a profoundly spiritual, God-breathed way the whole world is called to rejoice. This is the heritage of the organ that we claim for now and the future.

This paper is a retrospective documentary of the roads that led us to the dedication of the Joe R. Engle Organ in Miller Chapel. Although it may seem to those who arrived for the dedication of the Organ that it appeared rather abruptly, thousands of hours went into the preparation of this instrument. While most of these hours were contributed by the builders, Paul Fritts and

¹ "New Songs of Celebration Render," stanza two, a versification of Psalm 98 by Erik Routley as it appears in *Presbyterian Hymnal: Hymns, Psalms and Spiritual Songs* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990), 218.

² For further reading, see Quentin Faulkner, "The History of the Organ in the Christian Church," in *The Complete Library of Christian Worship*, vol. 4, *Music and the Arts in Christian Worship*, book 1, ed. Robert E. Webber (Nashville: Star Song, 1994), 397-404.

six of his associates, many others were involved in the enormous process of preparing for this instrument. These people included committee members who studied what the role of the organ at Princeton Seminary should be and then sought out the craftsman to accomplish the task, architects and construction workers who prepared the site, a generous donor who funded the project, and the Seminary community that sang daily with the organ while the builder voiced the instrument to blend with their voices. It is hoped that this document may serve the church as an example of how one community reflected on the role of the organ in its worship life and then endeavored to build an exemplary organ, which would for generations set in motion the praises of God.

I. A BRIEF HISTORY OF ORGANS IN MILLER CHAPEL

Little is known about the first two organs in Miller Chapel. In the minutes of the Board of Trustees dated 19 October 1873 it was noted that the faculty of the Seminary recommended the purchase of an "instrument of music" for Miller Chapel. Though the faculty evidently could not bring themselves to specify what this instrument should be, one can safely assume that the euphemism refers to an organ. A local newspaper mentions an organ given to the Seminary in October 1874. Photographs taken after the 1874 renovation and in an engraving of the Chapel interior from 1879 further document the organ. In all likelihood there was no organ in Miller Chapel prior to 1874. John Calvin did not approve of the use of instruments in the worship service. The Presbyterians of Scottish descent in particular held fast to this Calvinist stricture against instruments right through the nineteenth century (and in some circles to this day). The First and Second Presbyterian Churches in Princeton did not acquire organs until the 1860s. It is doubtful that the Seminary would have preempted these churches in the installation of an instrument.

The second documented organ in Miller Chapel was a small, freestanding, two-manual mechanical action organ installed in March of 1909 by C. S. Haskell of Philadelphia. In 1919 it was rebuilt by the same company. The organ was on the left side of an apse of the Victorian-furnished Chapel. No photos of this organ appear to be extant.

The 1933 renovation of Miller Chapel saw the most curious organ installation in its history. The large, four-manual Gottlieb instrument was installed in six rooms in the basement of the Chapel. As described in the dedication program of October 10, 1933: "The tone produced by the organ pipes, after coming from the various chambers, passes through the master

expression louvers into the tone well and on up into the auditorium of the chapel." According to Joan Lippincott, who would occasionally play for services in Miller Chapel, the immense organ was reduced to an underground hum. She recalled that when accompanying the boisterous singing of the Seminary community, she could have shut the organ down in the middle of a hymn and no one would have known the difference.

In 1964 the apse at the front of the Chapel was enlarged to house the pipes of a replacement organ built by the Möller Organ Company, opus 9885. The organ spoke through a small screened opening high in the back wall of the chancel. Eventually panels were removed from the lower wall of the chancel to allow for more egress of sound. Nevertheless, the narrow chancel, with its flanking vestry and sacristy and overhead proscenium, aurally cut off both choir and organ from the "nave" where the congregation was assembled.

In the renovation just completed we have eased the organ out of its "closet" into the same room as the assembled singers. Though many who remember Miller Chapel prior to this renovation may think the new Joe R. Engle Organ to be larger than the previous one, such is not the case. It is in fact smaller than the previous two instruments, occupying well under half the space. The difference is that the organ is now visible whereas before it had to make itself heard from remote chambers. Because the organ is now free-standing and in the room it can lead with less volume and in a more relaxed way.

II. THE ORGAN COMMITTEE

On February 28, 1997 the Miller Chapel Renovation Committee met to consider the feasibility of restoring the Möller electro-pneumatic pipe organ. When it was ascertained that the costs for restoring and refurbishing the Möller organ far surpassed its estimated value, a decision was made to purchase a new instrument. To that end an organ committee was formed which consisted of trustee Rosemary Hall Evans, architect James Gatsch, James Kay (chair), alumnus Joel Mattison, and Martin Tel. The committee made several site visits to organs and organ building companies. After interviewing three leading North American organ builders, the committee awarded a contract to Paul Fritts and Company, Organ Builders of Tacoma, Washington. Soon after the contract was signed, Mr. Joe R. Engle of New York City agreed to fund the organ building project. In gratitude for this gift, the Organ has been named in honor of its generous donor.

In the years of planning and sixteen months of building, the committee with the builder persistently wrestled with the task of giving honest form to the

function of this instrument. What follows are some reflections on the form of the organ in the light of its intended function in a Reformed context.

III. THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGAN IN A REFORMED CONTEXT

Form follows function: For the Miller Chapel project it was essential that this be more than a maxim. The function of an organ in the worship life of the Seminary should be faithfully fleshed out in its construction. The three functions delineated below are by no means equal, but are presented here in order of importance according to a Reformed understanding of worship.

Congregational Singing. The organ must first and foremost undergird and support congregational singing. The most important musical event in a Reformed understanding of worship (originally the only acceptable musical event) is that which involves the entire gathered community. Congregational hymn singing and psalm singing have been the musical backbone of daily worship in Miller Chapel. While it should be obvious that this should be the most determinant factor in the design of a chapel organ, such was not always the case with the Seminary's previous instruments.

Choral Singing. Although a Reformed understanding of worship places choral singing second to congregational singing, this is hardly a close second! Choral singing is not a distinctive characteristic of Reformed worship and should never be allowed to usurp the singing of the gathered community. However, the development of fine choirs that offer both leadership to congregational singing and anthems of prayer and praise on behalf of the congregation should be encouraged and supported in the design of an organ.

Organ Literature. The vast majority of instrumental music composed for the service of the church is scored for the organ. Again, much of this music, particularly in the Lutheran and Reformed traditions, relates directly to the function of congregational singing in the form of hymn or psalm preludes. However, rather than designing an organ to be able to play literature from all eras and regions, we rather opted for more modest attempts at eclecticism and never to the detriment of the primary function of the organ. The operating conviction was that if all due attention is given to the first two functions, this third function will fall into place. The greatest traditions of building church organs (i.e., organs disciplined to the liturgical requirements) have inspired great organ literature. The opposite is not true.

IV. FROM FUNCTION TO FORM

The form of the organ follows the principles of function as delineated above. The form of the Joe R. Engle Organ falls into eight categories.

Placement of the Organ. The placement of the Organ was determined by its dominant function, that of supporting congregational singing. For acoustical reasons the Organ speaks the length of the room. An ideal location for an organ would be up in the rear gallery of the Chapel both for acoustical reasons (placing it in close proximity to the hard surface of the ceiling) as well as the liturgical sense of organ (and choir) supporting the congregation in prayer and praise. Since height restrictions would not allow for a rear gallery placement in Miller Chapel, the Organ necessarily found its appropriate place at the apse. Fortunately the renovation of the front of the Chapel allowed for placement of the Organ in closer proximity to the singing congregation. Such a placement, coupled with the fine acoustics of Miller Chapel, will allow the organ tones to envelope the singers without any need to force the sound.

Facade. Having decided to place the Organ into the same room as the assembled worshipers, the committee's attention turned to the visual details of the Organ. The committee was concerned that a traditional placement of the Organ (i.e., as a freestanding piece of furniture), coupled with a traditional facade, would be a major change for those accustomed to a "closeted" organ. Much time went into researching historical precedents and possibilities for an organ facade. While taking steps to minimize the discontinuity with the "organ-less" appearance of the 1933 and 1964 renovations, the committee also demonstrated a concern for the future. The quality of the Organ will ensure a very long life. The facade should reflect the best of the tradition and be able to sustain interest over generations of changing taste.

One of the guidelines of the larger renovation project stated that the renovation should not be considered a "repristination." Unlike other aspects of the renovation, we could not ask the question of what the organ looked like in Miller Chapel in 1834 since Presbyterianism of the period frowned upon instruments in worship. So the better question was: If an organ would have found its place in the original Steadman meeting house, what might it have looked like?

The question thus posed offered rich possibilities. While today many might suppose the answer to be a "Greek revival organ," such was not necessarily the case in early nineteenth-century America, particularly in the Philadelphia region. The classical period of musical composition in many ways represented a fallow season for both organ building and organ music.³ Thus, the earlier baroque tradition of organ building continued well into the nineteenth

³ The logical antecedent-consequent style of composing that is a hallmark of the classical style was ill-suited to the organ. As the music of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven flourished, organ literature and organ building fell into neglect and decadence.

century. This penchant of conservative organ builders for instruments that represented baroque or rococo features was not thought to be at odds with the architecture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century as many Lutheran, Moravian, German, and Dutch Reformed meeting houses of the colonial era attest.⁴ Even at this period there appears to have been openness to some eclecticism in ecclesial architecture.

The carvings on the Joe R. Engle Organ were designed and crafted by Judy Fritts, sister of the organ builder. The design is not a replica of any organ but does draw inspiration from period instruments of the mid-Atlantic region (particularly those of David Tannenberg), as well as from the carvings mounted on the screen behind the 1933 chancel, the Steadman carvings on the stairwells and gallery, and the interior Corinthian columns preserved from the 1933 renovation. The carvings represent a chaste expression within the tradition. The pipe shades were painted to match the organ case. It is noteworthy that they avoid any depictions of humans or other images.

The matter of the facade extends beyond visual aspects; the pipe shades themselves have several functions. They hide the gaps between the facade pipe fields and the case moldings. The ratio of solid wood to openings is carefully calculated to ensure both blending of sounds within the encased Organ and to allow enough egress of sound so that the Organ can speak in a natural, unforced way. Finally, the carvings do provide a visual beauty which must be understood in relation to the sounds produced. People do not take music in with their ears only; the visual aspect of the instrument plays an essential role in the aural experience.

Divisions and Disposition. The number of divisions was appropriately designed for the size of Miller Chapel and for the desired functions of the Organ. For Miller Chapel a two-manual organ with pedal is sufficient. One of the divisions is enclosed behind louvers which can be opened or closed with an expression pedal. This division, usually called a "Swell," allows for gradual crescendos and decrescendos, which are required in much of the choral and organ literature.

In determining the disposition (see appendix) of all three divisions the interest was focused on the principal chorus. The principal stops are those which are native to the organ. They are not imitative of any other instrument, but when combined together into a principal chorus they ideally should sound

⁴ This is perhaps best exemplified in the work of the acclaimed organ builder David Tannenberg, who at the turn of the century was building instruments for Moravian, Reformed, and Lutheran churches in eastern Pennsylvania. The intricate and often boisterous facades of these organs can be seen as contrast and complement to the simple structures that housed them.

in a way that blends with the singing voice of the congregation. It was proposed that an 8' principal be present on both manuals, as this is the pitch that matches the human voice. The full organ sound should lead with clarity. This had particular consequences for the design of the mixture stops.⁵

The demands of choral accompaniment and organ literature do move us beyond the principal chorus. There must be a variety of softer or lighter stops which will not overpower the choir as well as some colorful reed stops that are called for in the organ literature. Such stops are not unrelated to the principal chorus as they often serve in the preludes and introductions to the hymn or psalm to be sung. These stops were chosen and voiced in a way so as to accentuate their relationship to the principal chorus.

Mechanical Action. Mechanical action (or tracker action) refers to the mechanism by which the organist allows air into the pipes. Though discussions about mechanical action often relate this type of action to a particular sound or tonal quality (e.g., a bright, unwavering, "intellectual" quality), the action of the organ does not dictate either a certain disposition or tonal quality.⁶ The mechanical action organ allows for a more natural relationship between the organist and the instrument. Through the keyboard and tracker mechanism the organist is afforded a direct link to the valves whereby the wind is released to the pipes. Where such an intimate relationship exists between the player and instrument (which is the norm for all other acoustical instruments), there is potential for greater musicality. Also, a well-built mechanical action is more reliable than the alternative actions.

One perceived drawback of the mechanical action organ is that there is, by its mechanical nature, a limitation on the size of the instrument. (For an electric action organ there is virtually no limit to its size.) Traditional organ builders, however, are demonstrating how this limitation is in many ways an advantage. The mechanical action organ demands discipline of both builder and organist. Each rank of pipes must make an essential contribution to the whole of the organ. Judicious decisions must be made. Such an instrument

⁵ Mixtures are multi-rank, high-pitched stops that accentuate the overtones of the fundamental pitches. The design of the mixture stop can be a gauge of the perceived function of an organ. Contrapuntal literature (e.g., a Bach fugue) makes different demands of the mixture from homophonic playing (e.g., an accompaniment to a boisterous hymn). Often the tendency is to lean toward the demands of established organ literature rather than the demands of supporting congregational singing. In the final design of the Joe R. Engle Organ, the *Scharff* represents the mixture particularly suited to congregational accompaniment.

⁶ Because twentieth-century experimentation in building mechanical action organs tended to be linked with a "neo-baroque" sound, many have made an unwarranted connection between mechanical action and tonal quality.

will not burgeon into something superhuman. Indeed, the organ remains human in its scale.⁷

Another perceived drawback of the mechanical action organ is that the console must be in a fixed position, most often attached to the front of the instrument. This will prove to be problematic should an instance arise when an ensemble must be conducted from the console. It is the custom at Miller Chapel to have a choral assistant who either accompanies or conducts the choir. It was deemed better to work around this challenge rather than to compromise on the integrity of the organ design.

Temperament. It was only in the nineteenth century that equal temperament became the standard in the tuning of organs. The movement toward equal-tempered organs in churches was driven neither by theological nor liturgical concerns but rather seems to have stemmed from a pragmatism that would allow equal access to all the diatonic key areas. What is gained in equal temperament is that all the keys sound the same. There are no consequences for playing in obscure keys. But this gain is also a drawback inasmuch as all keys are thus equally out of tune and indistinct. Some of the organ and choral literature favors such equal temperament. Nevertheless, the vast majority of psalms and hymns are in common key signatures that sound better (more in tune) and follow more naturally the inclination of the congregational voice in a well-tempered (unequal) system. Thus, the instrument is tuned in a well-tempered system that allows for distinctiveness of key areas but is modest enough to permit the use of the more obscure key areas.

Winding System. Decisions regarding the wind supply system for the Organ also took into account the primary function of the instrument. The basic desire is that the wind support a natural singing quality mirroring in a fashion the natural flux in the syllables of the psalm or hymn as sung by the congregation. The demands for a stable wind supply must be tempered by the need for flexibility. To this end, the Joe R. Engle Organ is winded by two wedge-shaped bellows. A wind stabilizer stop can be engaged when the music requires a more steady wind supply.

One of the organs visited by the organ committee had a winding system which allowed for manual pumping of the instrument. ("Manual pumping" is

⁷ In his lecture at the twenty-third annual St. John's Liturgical Music Conference in Collegeville, MN (June 2000), Kevin Vogt delivered an address entitled "The Awesome Organ." Vogt remarked on the symbolism inherent in the mechanical action organ, comparing it to the church: "Insofar as the organ case houses the choir of musical bodies forged out of the elements of the earth, and inspired by wind, and arranged according to the acoustical laws of the universe to bear witness to the divine *Logos*, such an organ is both a symbol of the *ekklesia*, the Church, and of Jerusalem, 'built as a city, strongly compact, at unity with itself.'"

accomplished by a “pumper” who steps on pedals which lift the bellows which then feed air through a series of wind trunks and chests to the pipes. In the absence of a “pumper,” the bellows are fed by an electric blower.) A member of the committee was invited to pump the organ while the organist played. The nonorganist’s experience of cooperating in the venture of music making demonstrated the humanness of the organ as a “breathing” reality. Such a manual-pumping possibility is a feature of the new Organ. While the manual-pumping feature may not be used regularly, it will serve as a reminder that the organ is not a modern contrivance easily brought down by technological failure. Like all other wind instruments, it simply responds to a human being setting air into motion.

Electronic Assist Mechanisms. The virtues of adding electronic components to the mechanical action organ are questionable when one considers the comparably short life span of such technology. The guiding principle on this matter was that electronic components would not be utilized in any way that could disable the instrument should there be a failure in the technology. Thus, neither the key action nor the stop action are electric.

However, there is the matter of the preset system. Much of the organ literature as well as choral accompaniments require quick registration changes. While these quick changes could be made by assistants appointed to operate the organ stops, this is not always practical. For this reason a preset mechanism has been employed, but in a way that does not compromise the mechanical stop action. This technological feature is an assisting mechanism only. The function of the organ (or organist) is not dependent upon it.

Stewardship. The handiwork required to build the finest organ according to the demands as delineated above comes at considerable cost. Of all the alternatives for constructing organs, the mechanical action organ is the most expensive. But the purchase of such an instrument must also be understood as an investment. Mechanical action organs built by the finest craftspeople endure for centuries and require minimal maintenance. Other modes of organ building require regular and expensive maintenance and, in some cases, replacement. Such has been the Seminary’s experience with past instruments.

V. CONCLUSION

The proposal for a new organ and its eventual realization in the Joe R. Engle Organ represents an attempt to build upon the strengths of a developing and living Reformed tradition. It is an endeavor to build on the native strengths of the pipe organ as a liturgical instrument in a thoroughly modern and enlivening way. Once the instrument is in place it will be the

calling of generations of organists to discern when this instrument is the most appropriate means for leading the people's songs of prayer and praise. In such a context the Joe R. Engle Organ can be seen as a landmark instrument in the progression toward responsible organ building.

Will Princeton Theological Seminary still be preparing students for the ministry of the church in the twenty-second century? Will Miller Chapel resound with songs of prayer and praise in the year of our Lord 2100? While we cannot give definitive answers to such questions, we do give evidence of this hope and vision in the Joe R. Engle Organ built in exemplary fashion by Paul Fritts and Company, Organ Builders. When future generations come to Miller Chapel, may they say and sing with us and our forbears: *Soli Deo Gloria!* To God alone be the glory!

APPENDIX

The Joe R. Engle Organ at Princeton Theological Seminary, built by
Paul Fritts and Company, Organ Builders, 2000, opus 20

Great		Swell		Pedal	
1. Bourdon	16'	1. Principal	8'	1. Principal	16'
2. Principal	8'	2. Gedackt	8'	2. Subbaß	16'
3. Rohrflöte	8'	3. Violdigamba	8'	3. Octave	8'
4. Quintadena	8'	4. Voix celeste	8'	4. Bourdon*	8'
5. Octav	4'	5. Octav	4'	5. Octav	4'
6. Spitzflöte	4'	6. Koppelflöte	4'	6. Nachthorn	2'
7. Quint	3'	7. Nasat	3'	7. Mixtur	VI-VIIIr
8. Octav	2'	8. Octav	2'	8. Posaune	16'
9. Tierce	1 3/5'	9. Gemshorn	2'	9. Trompet	8'
10. Mixtur	IV-VIr	10. Terz	1 3/5'	10. Trompet*	4'
11. Scharff	III-VIr	11. Mixtur	V-VIIr	11. Cornet	2'
12. Trompet	8'	12. Dulcian	16'		
13. Trompet	4'	13. Trompet	8'		
14. Baarpfeife	8'	14. Hautbois	8'		

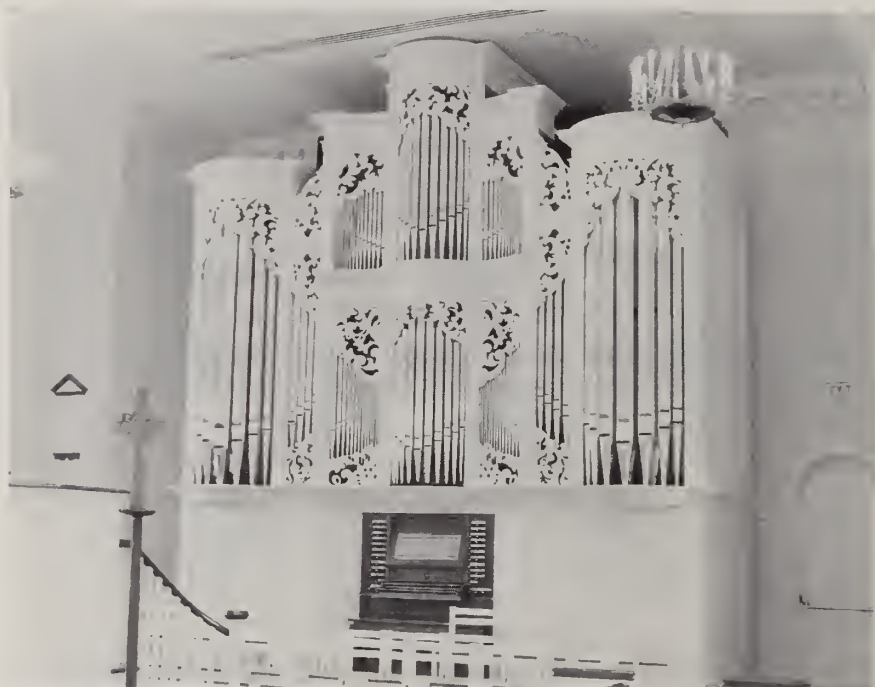
*Transmissions from
other pedal stops

Couplers: Swell to Great
Great to Pedal
Swell to Pedal

Compass: Manuals: 56 notes
Pedal: 30 notes

Features: Burnished tin front pipes
Suspended key action
Mechanical stop action with preset system by Solid State
Lodgic Ltd.
Variable tremulant
Wind stabilizer
Tierce (1 rank for swell mixture)
Cimbelstern
Vogelgesang
Manual wind supply option
Kellner temperament

The Joe R. Engle Organ



Photographs by Chrissie Knight

The Historical Jesus and Exegetical Theology

by JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

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lord Professor of New Testament Language
and Literature at the Seminary and Editor
of the Seminary's Dead Sea Scrolls Project.
He is the editor, along with Walter P.
Weaver, of Jesus Two Thousand Years
Later (2000).*

*Written in honor of Hugh Anderson
on his eightieth birthday, May 18, 2000.*

ALBERT SCHWEITZER once referred to the “chaos of modern lives of Jesus” in light of the books that appeared after his magnum opus on the historical Jesus.¹ Schweitzer was not a prophet; he was merely prescient. As one sees the veritable flood of books on Jesus, one may be forgiven for thinking that the field is in more chaos today than when Schweitzer wrote. Some think the study of the historical Jesus is a dead end. Others parade their ignorance in thinking that Papias (whose work is lost) and Irenaeus (who was a defender of the faith) were reporting objectively that at least two gospels were composed by eyewitnesses of Jesus.² In the field of Jesus Research, as well as in archaeology, we confront the minimalists and the maximalists.

In this essay I attempt to point out how and why these extremists have followed the blind and fallen into a pit. I also wish to show that behind the apparent chaos is an unparalleled consensus on methodology and some major aspects of Jesus' life and thought. The difference between a book by a scholar and a book by one who is not is the amount of attention each gives to methodological issues and the degree to which each follows a scientific, unbiased method in asking historical, literary, and theological questions. All scholars who are distinguished in Jesus Research acknowledge that the historical-critical method needs to be employed. More scholars attempt to supplement their Jesus Research by including insights obtained from sociology, anthropology, archaeology, rhetoric, and perhaps psychobiography.³

¹ W. P. Weaver, *The Historical Jesus in the Twentieth Century, 1900–1950* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1999), xi.

² This perspective appears in the book by L. Strobel entitled *The Case for Christ: A Journalist's Personal Investigation of the Evidence for Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998). I am moved that Strobel moved from atheism or skepticism to Christianity by his own search for Jesus, but his search is far from objective and critical, despite the promises of the attractive anecdote that begins the book (pp. 9–15).

³ The field of Jesus Research is vast. No one has read all the publications. It may be impossible now even to read all the important publications, since they are so numerous,

My inaugural address in 1984 was focused on "Jesus Research." I stressed that from 30, the date of the crucifixion, to 1835, the date of the first critical life of Jesus (David F. Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu*), the approach to Jesus was devotional.⁴ Christians approached Jesus by worshiping him as the Christ, the Son of God. In the early centuries scholars claimed, and thence it was presupposed, that eyewitnesses composed the gospels: Matthew and John were apostles, Mark was the assistant of Peter, and Luke was the companion of Paul.

From 1835 until 1906 the search for the historical Jesus intensified. Strauss initially and others intermittently dreamed of giving persons in the pew a reliable biography of the one they followed. There were as many images of Jesus, and methods used to create these images, as there were authors who proposed them. Ernst Renan opined that Jesus' painful last moments in Gethsemane may have been due to his regret over the women he should have loved in Galilee. The famous church historian, Adolph von Harnack claimed that Jesus taught the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of humankind, and the ethic of love. Readers were not hearing the voice of the Galilean Rabbi; they were in touch with French Romanticism and German Idealism. The attentive reader pondered why each reconstructed Jesus was so misunderstood by his followers and why he was crucified. This period (1835–1906) dominated by Romanticism and German Idealism is labeled "the old quest for the historical Jesus."

In the first edition of his study on the historical Jesus in 1906 Albert Schweitzer showed that all who had written during the nineteenth century were simply offering a view of Jesus that they could admire or understand. This work, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, is not only a classic, but perhaps the most influential study of Jesus ever published; virtually every subsequent scholar has come to agree with Schweitzer that Jesus was deeply influenced by Jewish apocalypticism.⁵ George Tyrrell, an Irish modernist and Roman Catholic, made a statement that is too often associated with Schweitzer (although it was clearly influenced by him). In his review of Harnack's *What Is Christianity?* Tyrrell stated that those who had written a putative historical

scattered in so many different fields, and written in over twenty languages. Fortunately, we have a useful bibliographical guide to most publications up until 1996: C. A. Evans, *Life of Jesus Research: An Annotated Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

⁴ Of course, A. Schweitzer was correct to point out that Reimarus was the inaugurator of the "old quest" in the eighteenth century.

⁵ A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (London: A. & C. Black, 1910).

work on Jesus had merely peered down the well of history and seen the reflection of their own faces.⁶

From 1919 (the date of Barth's commentary on Romans) and the 1920s (the beginnings of Bultmann's school) until 1953 the theology of Rudolf Bultmann and Karl Barth flourished, but they and their followers tended to denigrate historicism. Although many New Testament scholars before 1950 stressed the importance of historical research on Jesus, it is widely recognized that Ernst Käsemann opened up "the new quest for the historical Jesus" in 1953.⁷ Käsemann showed that there is history in the New Testament. He argued that Christian theology was grounded not in ideas, nor existentialism. Käsemann was able to convince many New Testament experts that Christianity was founded on real history and that there was some continuity between Jesus' words and the proclamation of the Christ by the earliest churches.

This new quest slowly sank from view, perhaps because it was heavily laden with theological interests and a lingering fascination with existentialism. Lack of dedication to sociology and archaeology and too much interest in christology marred objective historical search for an understanding of the pre-30 Jesus. Around 1980 something new appeared in scholarship; I have called it "Jesus Research."⁸ Regardless of their own theology or beliefs, many scholars around the world found it interesting and important to ask historical questions. First-century buildings and pavements, found unexpectedly in Jerusalem, raised questions of what kind of people walked there two thousand years ago.

Jewish and Christian historians pondered what can be known concerning the founder of the Qumran Community (the anonymous Righteous Teacher), Hillel (the Pharisee who was a close antecedent of Jesus), Gamaliel, and Johanan ben Zakkai (the one who chaired the first rabbinic academy at Jamnia). They also found themselves asking similar questions about Jesus of

⁶ Tyrrell had focused his thoughts on the liberal Protestant Harnack: "The Christ that Harnack sees, looking back through nineteen centuries of Catholic darkness, is only the reflection of a liberal Protestant face, seen at the bottom of a deep well." Of course, Tyrrell's own fiery spirit and some tension between Catholics and Protestants are not well hidden in this outburst. See G. Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Crossroads* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1909 [reissued in 1963]), 49. I am grateful to W. P. Weaver for discussions on Tyrrell's pellucid insight.

⁷ E. Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM, 1964), 15-47.

⁸ W. B. Tatum rightly sees the shift from a theologically loaded "quest" to a new approach to the historical Jesus. He calls it "post-quest" and places the date at 1985, because of the appearance of E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) and the first session of the Jesus Seminar. These did not initiate the new movement, but were part of it. See W. B. Tatum, *In Quest of Jesus*, rev. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 102-3.

Nazareth. The new approach was distinct from the previous ones that had dominated the field: It was not tied to a theologically motivated "search" for Jesus. Jesus Research was often stimulated by studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, early rabbinic texts, Josephus, and other early Jewish writings—especially the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. This study was "research"; archaeology, anthropology, and sociology became important in the study of the historical Jesus, and it was not motivated by christology.

Sometime in the late 1980s Jesus Research was infiltrated—some might say contaminated—by authors, some of whom are scholars, who basically took up the old quest, seeking to find a Jesus whom they could follow or worship. The most attractive book of these authors may be Marcus Borg's *Jesus: A New Vision*.⁹ It is understandable why some scholars call the new period of the study of the historical Jesus, the "third quest" or "third search."¹⁰

Some experts may find a distinction between the study of Jesus before and after 1980 (or later) somewhat misleading. Granted, such distinguished scholars of the past two centuries as Guignebert, Goguel, Loisy, Strauss, and Bauer would disclaim that their studies were motivated by theological agendas. It is also not fair to brand Bultmann as one whose christological concerns simply dictated his historical research. It is surely debatable to what degree Borg, John Dominic Crossan, and others such as Luke Timothy Johnson are true historians whose work is not in any way shaped by christological perspectives. What I wish to stress is that more concern for disinterested research in Jesus is apparent today than it was before approximately 1980.

There are, of course, sometimes astonishing differences among scholars who are devoted to the study of the historical Jesus today. At the outset one might try to bifurcate scholars into those who like E. P. Sanders want history and not confessionalism and into those who like Borg mix history and christology; but finally all such neat categories distort rather than represent.¹¹

⁹ (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987). Also see M. Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994); M. Borg, *Jesus at 2000* (Boulder: Westview, 1997); M. Borg and N. T. Wright, *The Meaning of Jesus: Two Visions* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1999).

¹⁰ See B. Witherington III, *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search for the Jew of Nazareth* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1995).

¹¹ Once one scholar, Schweitzer, could summarize the study of the historical Jesus during the nineteenth century. The review of the study of the historical Jesus during the twentieth century is a monstrous task. Three experts now seek to assess what has been happening. W. P. Weaver completed the first book in 1999, entitled *The Historical Jesus in the Twentieth Century, 1900–1950* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1999). E. Baasland, a New Testament scholar who has become a bishop of the Lutheran Church in Norway, will cover the period from 1951 to 1980, and J. H. Charlesworth will assess the period from 1981 to 2000.

Books in the field of Jesus Research, such as those by John Meier,¹² Richard Horsley,¹³ and Sanders appear alongside other publications on Jesus that resist categorizing, such as those by Ben Witherington III, Crossan, N. T. Wright,¹⁴ and Paula Fredriksen.¹⁵

I. WHAT CAN BE KNOWN ABOUT JESUS' ACTIONS?

While Bultmann focused on the sayings of Jesus, Sanders sought to understand the historical Jesus in terms of his actions that can be verified historically. The result is the impressive *Jesus and Judaism*. Sanders is certainly correct in emphasizing that Jesus' actions are paradigmatically important for anyone who would like "to follow" him, and that one key for unlocking the enigmas of his life is why he was crucified.

A remarkable consensus has appeared among many of the leading scholars regarding Jesus' actions. Here are some Jesus traditions that seem to be, if not virtually *bruta facta*, at least highly probable conclusions:¹⁶

Jesus grew up in Nazareth.

He was baptized by John the Baptizer.

He was obsessed with doing God's will.

He was "intoxicated" with another dimension, and identified himself as a prophet.¹⁷

He chose twelve men to be his disciples.

He was very close with Mary Magdalene.

He performed healing miracles.

He taught in synagogues (at the beginning only, perhaps), small dwellings, and on the fringes of villages (not cities).

¹² For those who cannot spend months working through the erudite and exhaustive volumes on Jesus by J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (New York: Doubleday, 1991-), a little book edited by J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver may be attractive. This book, *Jesus Two Thousand Years Later* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2000), contains essays that are written for nonscholars. Five well-known scholars present their ideas in the newest volume in the Faith and Scholarship Colloquies that are held each year at Florida Southern College: W. P. Weaver, J. D. Crossan, E. P. Sanders, A.-J. Levine, and J. H. Charlesworth.

¹³ See especially R. A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).

¹⁴ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London: SPCK, 1996); N. T. Wright, *Who Was Jesus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).

¹⁵ P. Fredriksen, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); P. Fredriksen, *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews: A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

¹⁶ Also see the lists by Charlesworth in *Jesus Two Thousand Years Later*, 84-128.

¹⁷ I agree with Borg that Jesus "was dominated throughout by intercourse with the other world" (*Jesus: A New Vision*, 42) and that he identified "himself with the prophets" (p. 48).

In shocking contrast to many Pharisees and the Essenes, he associated with the outcast, physically sick or impaired, and social misfits.

He went to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover and worship within the temple cult.

He frequented the temple, worshipped there, and taught in the porticoes.

When he was in Jerusalem he attacked some corruptions in the temple cult.

His meals were often religious events, and his last meal with his disciples was at Passover time in Jerusalem.

He seems to have been betrayed by Judas and was certainly denied by Peter.

He was forcefully taken by some Jews, most likely some related to the cult.

He was crucified by Roman soldiers outside the western walls of Jerusalem.¹⁸

He died before the beginning of the Sabbath on Friday afternoon.

Debates continue regarding Jesus' actions. The question of Jesus' political agenda remains an important one.¹⁹ One scholar points to the evidence that Jesus' followers "were armed in Gethsemane," and thus concludes that it is "difficult to deny that he himself may have been involved in armed resistance against Rome."²⁰ Jesus' Jewishness is also an issue. In no way was Jesus a marginal Jew²¹ or a peasant.²² He was devoutly Jewish; and he was far too sophisticated, learned, and involved with urban life to be a peasant. Sometimes these claims appear without the demeanor of scholarly dialogue.

Central to the previous reflections are methods for authenticating Jesus' activities. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans have edited a book that will be essential in any future search for Jesus' actions. In *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus* nineteen established New Testament experts share their own methods

¹⁸ It is certain that Romans are responsible for Jesus' crucifixion. See J. D. Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus? Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995).

¹⁹ See, e.g., M. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness, and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (New York: Mellen, 1984); E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule, eds., *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁰ H. Boers, *Who Was Jesus?* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 93.

²¹ The title of Meier's books, *A Marginal Jew*, is not representative of Meier's erudite insights. When Meier uses "marginal" he means that Jesus' life would not have been featured on CNN and that he was not a typical Jew.

²² J. D. Crossan argues that Jesus was a peasant. See *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991).

and conclusions.²³ According to its preface, the purpose of the collection is “to clarify what procedures should be undertaken to distinguish tradition and meaning that stem from Jesus from that which stems from later traditions and evangelists.” A third of the book is on “Methods and Assumptions” and two-thirds on “Authenticating the Activities of Jesus.”

Seventeen essays appear in this volume; eleven are new and six have been revised. J. D. G. Dunn and most scholars who contribute to this volume (and its companion) are convinced that the goal of Jesus Research or the “third quest” will be—or is—most likely successful. Martin Hengel and Evans offer papers to show that Jesus did have a messianic mission. Personally, I am convinced that while Jesus never declared himself to be the Messiah (the Christ), he may have had a messianic self-understanding.²⁴

It is important, of course, to seek to know what can be reliably ascertained about the reasons for Jesus’ horrible death.²⁵ Jesus ascends to Jerusalem from Galilee in order to celebrate Passover. Pontius Pilate brings thousands of his soldiers from Caesarea Maritima to the Holy City. Pilgrims flood in from everywhere: Parthia in the east and Rome in the west. The city becomes electric with messianic and eschatological fever, as the Jews begin to celebrate—actually relive—how God acted on their behalf and saved them from the Pharaoh. In his *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography*, Crossan captures the social setting:

[Caiaphas and Pilate] would no doubt have agreed before such a festival that fast and immediate action was to be taken against any disturbance and that some examples by crucifixion might be especially useful at the start.²⁶

For Caiaphas and Pilate, who must preserve order amidst potential crises, Jesus was dangerous because of his ability to arouse unruly crowds (the most unstable of social institutions).

II. WHAT CAN BE KNOWN ABOUT JESUS’ TEACHING?

While it is important to know something reliable about Jesus the man, it is equally central—and perhaps more important for many scholars—to examine

²³ (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

²⁴ I wish to add agreement with P. Stuhlmacher that any attempt to build bridges of understanding between Christians and Jews must be honest. For example, we dare not claim as Christians that Jesus must not be allowed to make messianic claims (P. Stuhlmacher, *Jesus of Nazareth—Christ of Faith* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993], 5).

²⁵ In addition to the other works already cited, see R. E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave* (New York: Doubleday, 1994); E. Rivkin, *What Crucified Jesus?* (New York: UAHC Press, 1997).

²⁶ J. D. Crossan, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 152.

what can be known regarding the teaching of Jesus. A major turning point is the series of studies of Jesus by a Jew, Géza Vermès of Oxford: *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (1973), *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (1983), and *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (1993).²⁷

Another pioneer in Jesus Research is David Flusser, an incredibly erudite and creative professor emeritus of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In the major revision of his book, *Jesus*, he focuses attention on Jesus' concept of love.²⁸ Flusser sees a markedly "new sensitivity" among Jesus' contemporary Jews; Jesus knew that love must include all and be like God's mercy (cf. Luke 6:36; Matt 5:4). From years of discussing Jesus with Flusser, I have come to perceive Jesus' teachings more clearly. Jesus taught that love that is defined by boundaries may be only a self-serving affection. As we reflect on our own lives, and as we grow older, it becomes obvious that we cannot know who may be our friends or our enemies—and that such a bifurcation of humanity distorts reality. Moreover, if we do not strive to love our enemies, how are we to live in a world without enemies?

One of Flusser's students has written a solid assessment of Jesus' parables. Brad H. Young's *The Parables: Jewish Tradition and Christian Interpretation* focuses on the attempt to understand Jesus in light of what can be known of Jesus' own time.²⁹ Young rightly points out that "Christian" interpretation, even by the early Greek scholars, often misses Jesus' message because it removes him from his Jewish environment. There should be no doubt that the parables originate with Jesus, though edited by the evangelists; also Charles W. Hedrick rightly sees Jesus' creativity in them.³⁰

Most scholars concur that Jesus' central message is the dawning of God's rule (the kingdom of God [for Matthew, "the kingdom of heaven"]). Thus, among the most certain aspects of Jesus' teachings are the following:

His central proclamation was the dawning of God's rule.

His custom was to speak pictorially, using parables.

He knew Greek and Hebrew, but his usual speech was in Aramaic.

He seems to have taught his disciples a special way to pray (the Lord's Prayer).

²⁷ (London: Collins, 1973); (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); (London: SCM, 1993).

²⁸ D. Flusser with R. S. Notley, *Jesus* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998).

²⁹ (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998).

³⁰ C. W. Hedrick, *Parables as Poetic Fictions: The Creative Voice of Jesus* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994).

In line with ideas implicit in the world of other early Jews, Jesus taught his followers that they should love their enemies.

He often argued with the Pharisees because his theology was close to theirs.

He was influenced by some Essene thought (as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls) but would have been highly critical of Essenes' predestinarian beliefs and exclusivism.³¹

He apparently perceived his mission and that of his followers to be focused on Israel alone (cf. "go nowhere among the Gentiles" in Matt 10:5).

He argued against the Jerusalem-based, elevated concept of purity and most likely attacked the money changers in the temple.

Of course, every part of this list—and also the previous one—can be and has been debated. What I present is only a consensus I observe among experts who have been independently involved in Jesus Research. Other, often strikingly similar lists are provided by Wright and Sanders. I agree with Evans, in adding to their lists, "that Jesus was viewed by the public as a prophet, that the Romans crucified him as 'king of the Jews,' and that following Easter his followers regarded him as Israel's Messiah."³² Thus the pendulum has swung from the declarative "We cannot know anything about Jesus," to the interrogative "How much can we reliably know about the historical Jesus?" Perhaps the central issue once again concerns methodology. How do we know we are hearing Jesus' own voice and not merely distorted echoes passed on by those who never knew him?

More should be reported about Jesus' teachings. I am personally convinced, and most experts in Jesus Research would concur, that his teaching was eschatological and apocalyptic. This issue is unfortunately no longer a major consensus among all authors, but is clearly one among scholars who have studied Early Judaism and the earliest stratum of Jesus traditions. William Klassen is certainly correct to stress that members of the Jesus Seminar try "to free" Jesus from "the shackles of Jewish apocalypticism" so that they may "tailor Jesus to their own likes" and so "find him more palatable."³³

³¹ See the contributions in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1992, 1995).

³² Evans, in *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, 5.

³³ W. Klassen, in *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*, ed. B. Chilton and C. A. Evans (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 386.

Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans have edited another work, this one entitled *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*.³⁴ Again the purpose is to seek behind redactions some reliable traditions that derive ultimately from Jesus. The book includes seventeen essays; almost all are by leading experts who write in English. Essays on methodology are presented by Evans, Chilton, Bruce J. Malina (whose contribution is superb), and Tom Holmén.³⁵ Two essays are directed to the Lord's Prayer. Only one essay in *Authenticating the Words of Jesus* is directly on the parables. In one of the best essays in these two volumes on authenticity, Klassen demonstrates how the command to love our enemies is both authentic to Jesus and also rooted in the Greek theater and in the new morality appearing in early Jewish theology (as Flusser's book also demonstrates).³⁶ It is a pity that the index is limited only to biblical literature.³⁷

What are the tendencies of these essays? There is a move to distance research from the popular and often journalistic publications of the Jesus Seminar which, *inter alia*, has sought objective proofs and announces, with distorted methodology, that Jesus must be divorced from Jewish apocalypticism. Many readers will agree with N. T. Wright that the Jesus Seminar employs a misleading methodology and has five gospels but "no Gospel." Yet there is also some good coming out of the Jesus Seminar, and Robert W. Funk's initiative and desire to take the historical Jesus seriously is commendable.³⁸

The essays show a willingness to consider Jesus' messianic self-understanding. There is an awareness that Jesus was thoroughly Jewish, and that the New

³⁴ (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

³⁵ Those who are interested in methods for ascertaining authentic Jesus tradition should also consult C. A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries* (Leiden, Brill, 1995), 1-49.

³⁶ For the latest on Jesus' morality, see A. E. Harvey, *Strenuous Commands: The Ethic of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990).

³⁷ The discussions often demand knowledge of Hebrew and Greek philology. It is a pity that all the authors are (or seem to be) Christians; some superb work on Jesus is being published by Jews and others that defy the traditional labels. More research should have been grounded on sociology and archaeology. A very helpful, but dated, guide to Jesus and archaeology is J. J. Rousseau and R. Arav, *Jesus & His World: An Archaeological and Cultural Dictionary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). Also, see the equally dated J. H. Charlesworth, *Jesus Within Judaism: New Light from Exciting Archaeological Discoveries* (New York: Doubleday, 1988).

³⁸ R. W. Funk, *Honest to Jesus: Jesus for a New Millennium* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996); R. W. Funk (and the Jesus Seminar), *The Acts of Jesus: The Search for the Authentic Deeds of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998); R. W. Funk, R. W. Hoover (and the Jesus Seminar), *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1993). It is interesting to observe that the two volumes by Funk and the Jesus Seminar and the two volumes edited by Chilton and Evans are divided into Jesus' acts and Jesus' words. I am dubious that a comparison of the four books would be fruitful; they are not responding to each other, and too many other important related works would be ignored.

Testament gospels incorrectly tend to shift the blame for his death onto "the Jews." There are also tendencies to avoid positivism and the claim that all conclusions are merely tenuous speculations by scholars. The two volumes edited by Evans and Chilton could have been much better, yet they are extremely helpful and valuable. Even so it is not easy to separate the story of Jesus into his deeds and his words. This point is made when one looks at the books that study Jesus from the sociological and psychological point of view—perspectives noticeably absent in the collection.

Shirley Jackson Case is credited with introducing sociology into the study of Christian origins. His work antedates World War II. He died in 1947, before he could complete his second book on Jesus.³⁹ This method lay dormant until the seventies when numerous books were devoted to the sociological study of Jesus. Gerd Theissen, in a brilliant monograph, began the new wave of studying Jesus in light of sociology. His book appeared in 1978 under the title *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*.⁴⁰ Richard A. Horsley made a major contribution to this field in 1989 with his *Sociology and the Jesus Movement*.⁴¹ While no recent book has been dedicated to a sociological biography of Jesus, much valuable information regarding the social world of Jesus is amassed in *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century*.⁴² Still waiting to be written are major monographs on sociology and Jesus—for example, taking into account Gustave Le Bon's and other sociologists' insights into the "crowd" and the importance of the crowd in Jesus' story.⁴³

In contrast to a sociological study of Jesus, a psychological assessment of Jesus has assumed some prominence after being relatively dormant for over fifty years. While no one should attempt to psychoanalyze Jesus—as if one could put him on a couch and cross-examine him—it is essential to complete what is known from other methodological approaches by adding what one trained in psychology may see. Jesus Research has been converging with psychobiography and psychohistory. Two superb attempts at a psychobiography of Jesus have appeared; they deserve highlight.

John W. Miller has written *Jesus at Thirty: A Psychological and Historical*

³⁹ Early portions of it are at Florida Southern College. I am grateful to W. P. Weaver for the opportunity to study these pages.

⁴⁰ (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978). See also G. Theissen, *The Shadow of the Galilean: The Quest of the Historical Jesus in Narrative Form* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

⁴¹ (New York: Crossroad, 1989).

⁴² E. W. Stegemann and W. Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999).

⁴³ See, e.g., G. Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (New York: Viking, 1960); E. Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Seabury, 1978); R. Fenn, "Crowds, Time, and the Essence of Society," in *Secularization, Rationalism, and Sectarianism: Essays in Honour of Bryan R. Wilson*, ed. E. Barker, J. A. Beckford, and K. Dobbelaere (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

Portrait.⁴⁴ Miller, who was formerly director of psychiatric rehabilitation services at a hospital and taught religion, is convinced that the proper method to use in writing a psychological biography of Jesus is a refined method adapted from Freud, Fromm, Erikson, and Levinson. Especially important is Freud's insight into the oedipal complex. Miller attempts to demonstrate that Jesus was estranged from his family, lost his father at an early age, and became surrogate father and husband. Then Jesus had a powerful pneumatic experience during his baptism by John the Baptizer and broke with his mother at thirty. Jesus, however, resisted the temptation to be the Messiah, did not marry (because his father was not around to find him a woman), and found peace in recognizing that he had found a heavenly Father.

Critics will easily point out that Miller is uncritically dependent on Luke's portrayal of Jesus. Miller presupposes that Jesus was the firstborn and began his ministry at thirty. They will find his analysis unconvincing because he misses the particular tendencies of each evangelist. Miller does miss the advancements made since Joachim Jeremias on "Abba"⁴⁵ and incorrectly claims that only women were with Jesus at the cross (cf. John 19:26-27). Scholars will learn from Miller's book; he does show that one can obtain some insight into Jesus' early years by looking at what is reported about him after he joins John. He does bring into shocking focus the evidence that Jesus was estranged from his mother and siblings (but not his father).

New and challenging is Donald Capps's *Jesus: A Psychological Biography*.⁴⁶ Capps, a professor at Princeton Theological Seminary and a leading specialist on the psychology of religion, carefully assesses what advances and consensus have been achieved by those dedicated to Jesus Research. He chooses to focus on Jesus' role as healer. Capps certainly demonstrates that Jesus scholars have inadvertently been drawing conclusions about Jesus that impinge on psychology. He shows also that psychological theories are not only legitimate but essential in the historical reassessment of Jesus the man. More sensitive to the way the evangelists' communities and the evangelists themselves shaped and edited the Jesus traditions than Miller, Capps rightly claims that Jesus, as most scholars contend, performed healing miracles. Capps explores Jesus' role as exorcist-healer and makes some fascinating suggestions.⁴⁷ His discoveries are often fresh and a stimulus to more explorations.

⁴⁴ (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997).

⁴⁵ See the contributions in J. H. Charlesworth, "A Caveat on Textual Transmission and the Meaning of *Abba*: A Study of the Lord's Prayer," *The Lord's Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994), 1-14.

⁴⁶ (St. Louis: Chalice, 2000).

⁴⁷ There is no doubt that Jesus did perform amazing healings; his opponents admitted as such when they said he was able to perform such healings because he was possessed. For a

Capps's book is also controversial. For example, Capps is convinced that Jesus' birth was illegitimate,⁴⁸ that Joseph failed to adopt him, and that "Jesus was a melancholic male who turned to an alternative religious formulation—based on belief in Abba—to address and overcome his melancholia."⁴⁹ What may be most impressive about the studies by Miller and Capps is that they are not pathologies, as were many of the early attempts to study Jesus in light of Freud and psychology; they present a portrait of Jesus as one who overcame major psychological problems and emerged as a healthy male.

The study of the historical Jesus today is a massive and complicated area for research. Not only do books portray Jesus in vastly different ways, but also television and the cinema have successfully reached the masses with imaginative recreations of Jesus.⁵⁰

Unfortunately, too many scholars who focus their work on Jesus Research ignore the Gospel of John, which does contain some fundamental historical knowledge.⁵¹ More than one specialist on the Gospel of John have informed me that they are about to finish a publication that will clarify how historically reliable, in many ways, is John's story of Jesus.

Scholars should be thankful to Chilton and Evans for the two books highlighted in this essay—namely *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus* and *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*. These, in addition to their earlier edited collection of essays, *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* and *Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity, and Restoration*,⁵² leave the impression that today there is diversity, but no chaos.

III. CONCLUSION

Luke Timothy Johnson, in *The Real Jesus: The Misguided Quest for the Historical Jesus and the Truth of the Traditional Gospels*, rightly affirms the fundamental truth of the story in the gospels.⁵³ On the one hand, the story of Jesus is not to be categorized as a fable like the adventures of Hercules, Achilles, or Ulysses (Odysseus), the most famous hero of classical antiquity.

recent study of Jesus' healings, see S. L. Davies, *Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

⁴⁸ This position was developed by J. Schaberg in *The Illegitimacy of Jesus: A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives* (New York: Crossroad, 1990).

⁴⁹ Capps, *Jesus*, 260.

⁵⁰ See B. Tatum, *Jesus at the Movies: A Guide to the First Hundred Years* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 1997).

⁵¹ See the correctives found in F. J. Moloney, "The Fourth Gospel and the Jesus of History," *New Testament Studies* 46 (2000): 42–58.

⁵² (Leiden: Brill, 1994 and 1997).

⁵³ (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996).

On the other hand, the story of Jesus in the canonical gospels is an embellished story.⁵⁴ The basic data of history are expanded and even distorted into creative episodes, as the evangelists, and those who preceded them, used scripture to fill in biographical details and create a meaningful narrative. One of the best examples of this creative activity of Jesus' followers is casting the crucifixion in light of some influence from Psalm 22. In creating history Jesus' followers attributed to Jesus the fulfillment of predictions and prophecies. Sometimes this eschatological figure is called the Son of Man, the Son, and the Messiah; the predictions are found not only in the Old Testament (Hebrew scriptures), but also in other early Jewish sacred texts.

What needs to be stressed in each generation is the fact that the story of Jesus is fundamentally trustworthy. Even the atheist seems to have no problem with the story of a man, named Jesus, who emanated from Nazareth. More than professing Christians conclude that Jesus was one who thought he was a prophet, proclaimed the fatherhood of God, the coming of God's kingdom, and died a horrible death at the hands of Roman soldiers before Passover in 30. Above this skeleton of a story is the gospel narrative. It is, of course, proclamation—that is, good news from God for those who believe in Jesus as the Christ or the Son of God.

Also, quite obviously, disconnected facts are not "story." The study of anthropology and sociology, as well as literature, reveals that story is essential for the human search for meaning. We are able to obtain meaning only when we put facts—or lists of apparent facts—into a framework or story. Johnson, a leading New Testament expert who teaches at Emory University, thus wisely points out that "the most critical thing about a person is precisely what eludes the methods of critical historiography, namely, the *meaning* of a character." Indeed, I agree with Johnson, a Roman Catholic and former Benedictine monk, that our "problem is not the lack of data, but the inaccessibility of meaning" in the vast primary data. I concur that meaning "derives from the interpretation of the facts rather than the facts themselves. And such interpretation depends on story."⁵⁵

We need to perceive that history is accessible only through tradition and comprehensible only through interpretation.⁵⁶ The New Testament preserves not only the earliest traditions about Jesus; it also contains the earliest interpretations about Jesus' life and message. To observe that the gospels are

⁵⁴ I have deliberately excluded from this survey the voluminous works on the extracanonical Jesus. A reliable survey and study is found in M. Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996).

⁵⁵ Johnson, *The Real Jesus*, 133.

⁵⁶ I am here indebted to conversations with Ernst Käsemann.

characterized by interpreted traditions simply means that the traditions are meaningful not only to those who wrote them but also to those who read them with the commitment of the authors. These reflections lead us to ask the following question: Is the New Testament witness so powerful to so many because the story is not only full of theological and poetical truths but also grounded in historical reality?

Most of us have been fascinated with the stories of Daniel Boone more than those about Paul Bunyan. Is not that the case because the former, unlike the latter, is not pure fiction but essential and real history? Thus, do not the evangelists present us with a Jesus unlike the fictitious Bunyan and similar to the real Boone? Would there not be more light in the pulpit if we removed the fictitious and elevated the fact? Is it possible to remove the Bunyanesque from Boone, but impossible to save Jesus from being merely an antiquarian curiosity or idolatrous fixture of uneducated dogmatists?

Thus I must disagree with Johnson—who becomes myopic in attempting to expose the problems with the Jesus Seminar—when he advises that “Christian faith (then and now) is based on religious claims concerning the present power of Jesus.”⁵⁷ I am convinced that this statement is very dangerous and potentially misleading. Are we to think that Christian faith is “based on religious claims” that have no foundation in history or reality? What function does “present power” have in this claim and does it not undermine the historic as well as the historical? What if our claims are simply grounded in existentialism or the subjective construct of a group such as the Branch Davidians?

Are we to surmise that Christian faith is based on the “present power of Jesus” and not on the scandalous particularity of one historical man named Jesus whose earthly life ended in an embarrassing way? Johnson’s statement should not be used out of the context in which he has carefully crafted it, and there is a potential non sequitur between it and the preceding sentence: “Christian faith has always involved some historical claims concerning Jesus.” Without this preceding truth, Johnson’s claim can lead to Docetism (the claim that Jesus had been a celestial being and denial that he had been a real human being), ahistorical mysticism, and idealism. As we shall see, creeds in Christianity contain (and must contain) some historical facts—facts acknowledged to be true also by those who are not Christians.

I am convinced we should add to Johnson’s assessment that these “religious claims” must be informed by the history in the gospel. That is, they must be grounded in what is putatively the “real Jesus” (which I find a perplexing and

⁵⁷ Johnson, *The Real Jesus*, 133.

opaque concept),⁵⁸ but they also should be informed by historical sensitivities, archaeological insights, and the phenomenal advances in the knowledge of Jesus' time and culture. Christian faith is an incarnational faith; that is, it is a religion based on confessions grounded in the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. There is an earthiness to our faith that is reflected in the Lord's Prayer (e.g., "thy kingdom come on earth").⁵⁹

Christian faith is based on exegetical theology that anchors confessions in the kerygmata of our sacred texts. We continue to proclaim what the earliest Jews who followed Jesus claimed: a story about Jesus the Christ that is not interesting fiction but inviting history. Our own perception and definition of Christianity must not be divorced from—or uninformed by—what is being discovered about antiquity and then reconstructed by specialists in Early Judaism and especially Palestine in the first century C.E.⁶⁰

Pastors serving a church may not be interested in what specialists and archaeological data might contribute to their knowledge of the historical Jesus or first-century Judaism. They might even be willing to ignore it and sound foolish, thinking about Paul's comment that "we are fools for Christ's sake" (1 Cor 4:10). If they make such a claim, they have misread Paul, who was very knowledgeable and well trained. Paul was no one's fool, and he knew how to use rhetoric. He certainly knew far more than we do about the life and times of Jesus of Nazareth. The depth of his knowledge of the historical Jesus is hidden behind his epistles; it pops to the surface only when a crisis arises in which he needs to offer clarification, for example, "that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed . . ." (1 Cor 11:23). We dare not forget that Paul warns, "Let no one think that I am foolish" (2 Cor 11:16). He means that to boast, and be proud, is foolish; unless one boasts that he or she is a slave of Christ and God. Paul does not mind that the followers of Jesus may look like fools to the unbelieving world, but he certainly does not want one dedicated to Christ to be unwise and foolish. As he says in his appendix to Romans: "I wish you to be wise for what is good" (Rom 16:19).

Here are some points we might ponder as we contemplate the need to seek wisdom about the contributions of Jesus Research:

- (1) Pastors should not seek to sound wise to those who do not share the claims of Christianity, for such people may seduce us into miscasting the

⁵⁸ Meier points to a difference between the unknowable "real" Jesus and the scholarly reconstruction of the "historical" Jesus (*A Marginal Jew*, 1:22, 25).

⁵⁹ See J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver, eds., *Earthling Christologies: From Jesus' Parables to Jesus the Parable* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995).

⁶⁰ In August 2000 over fifty archaeologists and New Testament scholars came together in Jerusalem to celebrate the millennium through the theme *Jesus and Archaeology*. The proceedings will be published by Eerdmans and edited by J. H. Charlesworth.

scandal of faith so that under the force of reason it sounds wise. Christianity must be grounded and defined by faith as embodied in the kerygma of Jesus' earliest Jewish followers. Pastors should never think Paul wanted them to sound or act like fools—especially before God who is the source of wisdom.

- (2) Pastors should seek to be informed, learned, and wise in their preaching and teaching (even if such words do not sound “wise” to all those who are listening).
- (3) This norm demands not only the training provided in seminary years and in continuing education classes; it demands more: weekly study accompanied by reflection and meditation.
- (4) Great preaching is focused on the Bible and especially the good news from God found incarnate in the life and teachings of Jesus. It is thus imperative that preachers keep abreast of the major issues and discoveries related to Jesus and his world. Since more information about his time has been discovered over the past decade than in the preceding 100 years, it is imperative for pastors to be at least as informed of these developments as some of their parishioners. Otherwise they may be too impressed by the media circus about Jesus.

There is no way that preachers can read even ten percent of what is being published now on Jesus. They should, however, be able to expect some continuing guidance from the professors who introduced them to the study of the New Testament and helped them appreciate—and recognize the paradigmatic importance of—the historical study of Christian origins. If this essay helps pastors comprehend some major developments in the study of the historical Jesus, and draws attention to some books that might be read with profit, then we both have helped bring a little more light into the pulpit.

Long ago, in 1964, in his magisterial *Jesus and Christian Origins: A Commentary on Modern Viewpoints*, Hugh Anderson helped us grasp how the historian of first-century Palestinian Judaism and of the New Testament documents can serve the enlightened Christian:

What the historian can do by his devoted labors is this: he may constantly protect the Church's theology from relapsing into a-historical speculation, or into myth; he can preserve, if not authenticate, the truth that our faith and our religion are rooted and grounded in a particular history and person and life; he can clarify the scandal inherent in the Christian message and, by arresting us with the completely human features of our Lord, far from making faith more easy for us, he may expose the offense with which faith must live and the inward battle which it must continually wage in the world; renouncing modern philosophical categories and avoiding the temptation

to furnish us with theological judgments and dogmatic statements as if they were historical proofs, he can throw some light on how Jesus' contemporaries understood him and even, to some extent, on how he may have wished to be understood.⁶¹

Why is Jesus Research necessary? Jesus Research should begin with purely historical and scientific methods and honest questions. It must be "disinterested" in the sense that one should not lead the evidence to obtain a desired conclusion. When scientific research is completed—if only temporarily—then there is more to do, at least for the Jew and the Christian. For Christians there are some major pitfalls that must be avoided.

On the one hand, we must not err and seek to ground Christian faith on some mirage of objective scientific knowledge. To remove from Christian faith the scandalous and the gnawing uncertainty of a personal and total commitment drains faith of faith. On the other hand, authentic Christian faith is more than a Kierkegaardian leap of faith. If one is to follow Jesus, then some reliable knowledge about how he lived and what he thought is imperative.

The great creeds have historical facts embedded deep in them. I am impressed that some of the confessions now recited in churches reflect the necessity of historical facts (*bruta facta*) in a creed. Here is one that is frequently recited in the Presbyterian Church:

- 1 We trust in Jesus Christ,
- 2 fully human, fully God.
- 3 *Jesus proclaimed the reign of God:*
- 4 *preaching good news to the poor*
- 5 *and release to the captives,*
- 6 *teaching by word and deed*
- 7 *and blessing the children,*
- 8 *healing the sick,*
- 9 *and binding up the brokenhearted,*
- 10 *eating with outcasts, forgiving sinners,*
- 11 *and calling all to repent and believe the gospel.*
- 12 *Unjustly condemned for blasphemy and seditiou,*
- 13 *Jesus was crucified,*
- 14 *suffering the depths of human pain*
- 15 *and giving his life for the sins of the world.*
- 16 *God raised this Jesus from the dead,*
- 17 *vindicating his sinless life,*

⁶¹ (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 316.

- 18 breaking the power of sin and evil,
 19 delivering us from death to life eternal.⁶²

Lines three through fourteen are historical (and italicized). While the words in these words are crafted by a Christian for Christians, they can be recited by many of my friends who are Jews and Muslims. I can imagine an atheist or agnostic might also claim them, and then contend that it is a pity Jesus thought there was a God and some good news (gospel).

Focusing on the historical lines in this affirmation of faith—twelve out of the nineteen—also helps clarify what is unique about Christianity. Christians are those who trust in Jesus Christ and believe he is “fully human and fully God.” While some Jews affirm that “God raised Jesus from the dead,”⁶³ only a Christian would claim that he gave “his life for the sins of the world.”⁶⁴ This historical research also helps us understand not only the historical bedrock of Christian faith but also the personal commitment demanded by faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

Belief in Jesus Christ is rooted in faith in a historical Jew named Jesus. Does this faith not also benefit from a faithful and honest—and above all a scientific and disinterested—inquiry into the questions of What? and How? that give meaning to the nakedness of a public crucifixion? Schweitzer, who perceived Jesus to be incomparably great, saw chaos in the lives of Jesus that postdated his own magnum opus. In 2001 we may at first glance see an even greater chaos, but with more pellucid perception we might comprehend a challenging consensus.

⁶² The source is the Presbyterian “A Brief Statement of Faith,” which was adopted in 1983.

⁶³ A colleague of mine was surprised that some Jews affirm God raised Jesus from the dead. For one of the most articulate, see P. Lapede, *The Resurrection of Jesus: A Jewish Perspective* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1983). Of course, some leading Christians claim such a confession is an embarrassment to a person of the twenty-first century (see J. S. Spong, *The Hebrew Lord: A Bishop's Search for the Authentic Jesus* [San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988, 1993]).

⁶⁴ W. H. Bellinger Jr. and W. R. Farmer claim that the “affirmation that ‘Christ died for our sins’” is the “essence of Christian faith.” See *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins*, ed. W. H. Bellinger Jr. and W. R. Farmer (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1998), i.

The Influence of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Paul Lehmann, and Richard Shaull in Latin America

by BEATRIZ MELANO

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Dedicated with admiration, gratitude, and love to my Professor of Ethics at Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. Paul L. Lehmann, intimate friend of Dietrich Bonhoeffer until his death and disseminator of Bonhoeffer's thought.

I AM DIVIDING this essay into two parts.¹ First, I discuss the reasons why Bonhoeffer caught the attention of many of us in Latin America and why he made such an impact on my generation as young Latin American theologians in the decade of 1950 to 1960. In my judgment, Bonhoeffer was the greatest theologian of the twentieth century, and for this reason I will also summarize the principal aspects of what he accomplished in his relatively brief life as prophet, saint—one elected by God—and, though it may sound strange, as a “man of peace who strove for peace.” I will explore the reason why, though unsuccessful, Bonhoeffer sought in vain to go to India to spend time with and learn from Gandhi some thirty years before another martyr, Martin Luther King, initiated his struggle against racism in the United States. Bonhoeffer was a pacifist, and it was only toward the end of World War II that he tragically opted to participate in a conspiracy to assassinate Adolf Hitler.

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Alejandro Zorzin for the translation of passages from Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Gesammelte Schriften* as well as articles published in German, especially the essay of Paul Gerhard Schoenborn, “Bonhoeffer in Lateinamerika: Beziehungen zwischen Dietrich Bonhoeffer und Christen und Theologie in Lateinamerika—ein Werkstattbericht,” in *Kirche im Spannungsfeld von Staat und Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Günter van Norden*, ed. Hermann D. Buhr, Heinrich Küppers, and Volkmar Wittmütz (Köln: Rheinland, 1993), 375-96. Moreover, I want to acknowledge the assistance of Irene Stephanus for her assistance in the translations from German and her help in typing my manuscript. Likewise, I want to express my gratitude to Professor David Arcaute, Librarian at the Evangelical Institute of Theological Studies (ISEDET), who made available a number of valuable journals both in Spanish and English.

This fateful decision cost Bonhoeffer his life, but Gandhi's and King's decision to use nonviolence in their opposition to injustice likewise cost them their lives.

In the second part of this essay I will discuss the influence of Bonhoeffer on Latin American liberation theology, especially in Uruguay and Argentina. In my role as an involved witness, I will emphasize an aspect of Bonhoeffer's influence, which up until now generally has been ignored by those who have written about and analyzed liberation theology, especially the theological developments that occurred in the group known as ISAL, or Church and Society in Latin America. Likewise, I will assess the impact of Bonhoeffer on the early formation of a Protestant liberation theology by the disciples of Paul Lehmann—Bonhoeffer's closest companion and friend during his brief stay in New York—who later was our professor of ethics at Princeton Theological Seminary.

I. THE SITUATION IN GERMANY AND IN THE CHURCH DURING THE 1930S

What was the situation in Germany during the period prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, and how can we describe the response of the church? When the First World War (1914–1918) ended, not only was Germany defeated, but the country and the German people were humiliated by the accords reached in Versailles. Bonhoeffer's older brother, Walter, had volunteered for military duty and was killed in the war as were thousands of other young men. In the Bonhoeffer household, the family often spoke of its loss, and after eight years it began to understand what the war had meant. The Berlin of Wilhelm II they knew had disappeared forever, and Bonhoeffer saw the barricades, the strikes, the lack of jobs, the unemployment, and the increasing poverty. Despite all these conditions in the country, another Berlin and another Germany began to emerge, namely, the national-socialist Berlin and Germany of the Führer, Adolf Hitler. During the decade from 1923 to 1933, when the crisis of hyperinflation enabled the Nazis to seize power, Germany experienced one of the most turbulent periods in contemporary European history, and the map of the continent was changed forever. New nations appeared, and there was the feeling that an era had passed.

Following the First World War, it was evident that the world of the nineteenth century had completely disintegrated and disappeared along with its social, political, and economic traditions. In this chaotic environment, the Weimar Republic, which was established in 1919, proffered little hope for the future of Germany. There were fruitless struggles between political parties,

trade unions, and the governing classes that, while retaining their sense of social responsibility, exhausted themselves in internecine struggles for power. This unending civil unrest made possible the slow but relentless rise of Nazism guided by the charismatic Adolf Hitler, ultimately an apocalyptic development for the whole world. In the midst of these struggles, the German Evangelical Church with roots in the Reformation principles of *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, *sola scriptura*, and the ideal of church as an *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda* lost the historic protagonist role that the church had exercised during the Kaiser Wilhelm era. The separation of church and state stipulated by the new Weimar Constitution was relegated to a secondary level. In 1922 the twenty-eight regional Evangelical Churches, the *Landeskirchen* as they were known, became the Federation of German Evangelical Churches, but their influence was reduced substantially. In part, resenting this development, the Evangelical Churches became more and more legalistic, conservative, ultrapatristic, and nationalistic.²

From 1923 to 1927 Bonhoeffer studied theology first in Tübingen and then in Berlin—the Athens of that era and the center of intellectual life, industry, and commerce. Walking the streets, however, the young theologian saw the unemployed workers, young men, and the proletariat, and he observed the Nazi storm troopers as they attacked political opponents and striking workers. It was in the street, not behind a desk, that Bonhoeffer began to see the necessity for a contextualized theology to renew the church—a reformation of the church in the midst of the social, political, and economic problems that the country faced. The need for a contextualized theology was the basis of his doctoral dissertation, entitled “Sanctorum Communio,” which clearly developed an ecclesiology and sociology of the church. Prophetically, Bonhoeffer recognized the work that the church—the communion of the saints—had to undertake to be an advocate for the whole society. He was a believer calling other believers to live out in concrete ways their professed faith. With remarkable clarity, he declared that the Christian message had to be presented to thinking laypersons, political leaders, and to those who were concerned about the social problems, not merely to theologians and pastors. He believed that this could only be done in communities and that the pastors of the future had to be prepared to do this very thing. Theological study had to be related to life, to real life illuminated by the authentic light of the word of God. This

² Carlos Demonte, “Dietrich Bonhoeffer, el creyente,” mimeographed essay published by the Waldensian Evangelical Church of Montevideo, Uruguay, for the preparation of laypersons and pastors (No. 1, September 1992). The material is summarized and translated by Delmonte from Giorgio Tourn, “Bonhoeffer e la chiesa sotto il nazismo” (Serie 1, Testimoni No. 3, in Massilla, October 1965 for catechumenates).

was the subject of his 1927 dissertation. Although he was by vocation a teacher as well as a pastor, and although he was a child of the bourgeoisie, he found himself working among the proletariat, a restless proletariat composed of agitators and demonstrators against the economic and social crisis. As pastor and teacher he was in direct contact with the people, including the communists and the socialists. This is what he desired, to be a participant in the world and not be isolated or secluded from it in some cathedral or university chair. Thus he began to do theology in a new way, "theology from below," from the historical context, and with an ecumenical vision for the church—for the church universal and for all of humanity, not simply for one church or one people—for this, Bonhoeffer was convinced, was the mandate of Jesus Christ.

Because of his commitment to do theology in a new way, Bonhoeffer accepted a series of invitations from various venues outside of Germany. He went first to Barcelona, Spain, where he served as the vicar for a German community. Later he made trips to Italy, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, England, and the United States. In an era when many German theologians concentrated their attention on the situation in their homeland, Bonhoeffer was raising his horizons internationally and ecumenically in ways that profoundly affected his theological perspective. While he was studying at Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1930–1931, Bonhoeffer came to know Jean Lasserre, a French pacifist whom Bonhoeffer later described as the person most committed to peace he had ever met. In one of his "Letters from Prison," written from his cell in Tegel following the failed attempt on Hitler's life, July 20, 1944, Bonhoeffer mentioned a conversation he had with Lasserre, noting that the latter's goal was to become a saint. In Bonhoeffer's comments on peace made in the ecumenical conference at Fanö, Denmark in 1934, he acknowledged Lasserre's influence on him. Lasserre, incidentally, was present at that conference. According to Bonhoeffer's biographer, Eberhard Bethge, there were few pacifist movements in Germany during those years. After the Fanö conference Bonhoeffer's understanding of Luther's ethic in the German context resulted in a profound and compelling commitment to peace—a disposition he believed to be in keeping with the biblical and ecumenical understanding of the church as the unique body of Christ.³ Bethge then quotes Bonhoeffer: "We need to remember that we have [Christian] brothers and sisters not only in our own country, but in all countries. Come what may, let us never forget that the People of God are a

³ Dietrich Bonhoeffer: *Theólogo, Cristiano, Hombre Actual* (Bilbao, 1970), 220–1.

Christian people, and if we are together neither nationalism, racial hatred, nor class divisions can exist.”⁴

The meetings Bonhoeffer had during his initial time at Union Theological Seminary in New York were crucial. Frank Fisher of Harlem, an African American, introduced the young German theologian to the outcasts, the marginalized, and pariahs of American society. From them Bonhoeffer experienced an extraordinary reception. He was particularly impressed by the black youth he met in Harlem, and he was able to identify with them in a way that they accepted him as if he were not an outsider or foreigner.

Also while at Union Bonhoeffer met Professor Paul Lehmann who became a close friend and admirer. Bonhoeffer was a frequent guest in Paul and Marion Lehmann’s home. Bethge says that, with Lehmann:

[Bonhoeffer] could talk and argue; Lehman understood the nuances of European culture and theology. Lehmann came from the Evangelical and Reformed Church, but later joined the Presbyterians. . . . He could understand why theological statements by both professors and students at the seminary were capable of making Bonhoeffer’s hair stand on end.⁵

There they discussed the roots of their culture as well as European and North American theology. Lehmann thought that Bonhoeffer should remain as a professor in the United States and help undermine what Lehmann called the North American “theistic scenery” that dominated the theology of this country. During his second sojourn in New York, that is, during the months of May and June of 1939, Lehmann did everything he could to persuade Bonhoeffer to remain in America and not return to Germany. Though Lehmann failed in this effort, as Bethge points out, he was “Bonhoeffer’s companion and loyal helper at the most important turning-point in his life.”⁶

Still another significant influence on Bonhoeffer was Professor C. C. Webber, whose course “Church and Community” introduced Bonhoeffer to the sociology and politics of the United States. It was under Webber’s direction that Bonhoeffer became acquainted with the problems of labor, civil rights, and juvenile criminality and the work of the church in confronting these issues. Moreover, he saw how the American Liberty Union defended freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of the people to assemble, the right to strike, and the equality of classes. The problems faced by the proletariat and the abnegation of the seminarians who identified with the

⁴ Ibid., 221.

⁵ Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Man of Vision, Man of Courage* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 114.

⁶ Ibid., 115.

unemployed of New York City made a profound impression on Bonhoeffer. After he returned to Germany he too became concerned about the future of unoccupied young people and subsequently opened a youth center in Berlin.

No less important for Bonhoeffer was Union Professor Harry F. Ward, whose untraditional approach to Christian Ethics included a tinge of socialism. Ward sought to motivate his students to read critically what the newspapers were saying about world and national politics. One should not forget that Ward saw the effects of the Great Depression and the collapse of the banks in the U.S. in 1929–1930, when much of the news media manifested little sense of social responsibility. For all practical purposes, Ward contended, the largest banks owned North America. Bonhoeffer wrote to his parents: “The principal evil [in the United States], as in Germany, is poverty and the lack of work.”⁷ Like Princeton Seminary’s President, John Mackay, had Harry Ward been teaching thirty years later, he too would likely have been a target of McCarthyism.⁸

On November 11, 1931, shortly after returning to Germany from his first time in the United States, Bonhoeffer was ordained as a Lutheran pastor. Together with his work as a chaplain to students and being a *docente honorario* of theology at the University of Berlin, Bonhoeffer prepared for confirmation a group of fifty young people in a poor working sector of Berlin known as Wedding. Thus he moved between the University, the bourgeois sector of Grunewald where he lived with his parents alongside other professors and professionals, and the workers’ district of Wedding. Bonhoeffer’s experience in the United States, however, and his contact with the social gospel had enriched and inspired him to see things from a different perspective, that is, to see them “from below.”⁹

In the time, therefore, following World War I, when the German people longed for revenge following their military defeat in 1918, Bonhoeffer advocated pacifism and nonviolence. In the midst of the most fanatical nationalism, and especially during his year of study in New York (1930–1931), he met and formed friendships with foreigners. In Germany where the myth of Aryan superiority was cultivated—a sign of a sick society whether in the United States or in Germany—as Bonhoeffer had fraternized with blacks in the United States, he did so with Jews in Germany. One of his closest

⁷ Ibid., 121.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ There is a translation in Spanish of this short passage in Alejandro Zorzín, “Un palo atravesado en la rueda del terror: Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Cincuenta años de su ejecución por el nazismo,” *Revista Parroquial* (IERP/Buenos Aires) Año 100 (Octubre 1995): 8–12; also in the periodical *Encuentro y Fe* (CUFEC/Buenos Aires) 37 (Otoño 1995): 9–16.

companions was the young German theologian Franz Hildebrandt, whose forebears were Jews. Meanwhile, the shadow of the swastika descended ominously over the whole of Germany.

On January 30, 1933 the aging president of the Weimar Republic, Paul von Hidenburg, named Adolf Hitler chancellor of the country. Hitler moved immediately to consolidate his power and soon declared himself the Führer, in effect proclaiming himself Nazi dictator of the Third Reich. Fourteen years would pass before the end of the Second World War and the defeat of the German army, when Hitler's dictatorship came to its final inglorious end. During this period very few churches actually opposed this demonic regime, despite the fact that hardly had the Nazis come to power when they instituted a system of political repression throughout multiple sectors of national life. They outlawed all opposing political parties and abolished all labor unions. They ruthlessly oppressed and hunted down any individual or group they believed to be antagonistic to what they were doing. Herman Goering—as interior minister of the country—"nazified" the police and created the Gestapo to search out perceived "enemies" and dispatched them to "concentration" camps for "re-education," as he cynically described it.

At the end of February 1933, the *Reichstag*, or Parliament building was destroyed by arsonists, and public indignation, skillfully manipulated by Hitler's minister of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, enabled the Nazis to move against and liquidate all their opponents.

Two days after Hitler came to power, however, on a radio program broadcast on February 1, 1933, Bonhoeffer delivered an address entitled "Changes in the Concept of Leader [Führer] among German Youth." His was one of the first warnings about what was transpiring. Should the leader, Bonhoeffer asked, "allow himself to succumb to the wishes of those he leads? Should a true leader allow himself to become an 'idol' of the masses?" If so, "then the image of the leader will gradually become the image of the 'misleader' . . . [that is] the leader who makes an idol of himself and his office, and who thus mocks God."¹⁰ Before he was able to give these conclusions to his theological reflection, the broadcast was suddenly cut off. He was unable to finish. Thus his final words—"This represents an unnatural narcissism of . . . youth made vain by old fools"—were not heard.¹¹ Bonhoeffer, nonetheless, published and circulated the full manuscript.¹²

In an essay entitled "The Church and the Jewish Question," published in

¹⁰ Cf. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Munich: Kaiser 1958-74), 2:35, 37ff.

¹¹ Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 193.

¹² *Ibid.*, 194. See also Guy Carter et al., eds., *Bonhoeffer's Ethics: Old Europe and New Frontiers* (Kampen: Kok Pharos 1991), 123.

April 1933, following the first boycott and the discriminatory Nazi legislation against the Jewish population in Germany (in the so-called "Aryan Paragraph"), Bonhoeffer stated clearly and forcefully that the Jews should not be treated in any way different from anyone else. Jews, he declared, should be treated as "our brothers." His words are cited in a translation by Alexander Zorzin:

The conversion of Israel has to be the end of their time of suffering. It is from this perspective that the Christian church looks with trembling at the history of Israel as the unique, free and terrible way that God has dealt with this people. The church knows that no state in the world can understand in concrete terms the mystery of these people because God is not finished with them yet. Every attempt therefore to "resolve" the "Jewish question" will fail because of the historic, salvific significance of this people. Nonetheless, there are those who continually want to attempt it.¹³

Toward the middle of 1933 the Third Reich began to force the *Landeskirchen* to form a single German Evangelical Church. In order to accomplish this they utilized an ecclesiastical party known as the "German Christians." This maneuver, however, provoked a strong negative reaction on the part of some church leaders in Berlin to the rightly perceived attempt to form a pro-Nazi church. Bonhoeffer and Franz Hildebrandt were deeply involved in this opposition movement. Frederick von Boldeschwingh, the founder of the Deaconal Institute for Epileptics, was named by the new Church as its bishop. Hitler rejected his candidacy and imposed one whom he knew would do his bidding, an unknown ex-military chaplain, Louis Mueller, whom Hitler called the new Reich Bishop or Führer of the Church.

The response was immediate and decidedly negative. In September the Pastors' Emergency League was organized in Berlin under the leadership of Hans Lilje and Martin Niemöller. Thousands of pastors soon joined the coalition and the work of the League, together with the confessional synods of Barmen and Dahlem, resulting in the formation of the Confessional Church. These two movements together, the League and the Confessional Church, became the seed of ecclesial resistance that began to be manifested in 1934. Meanwhile, Bonhoeffer understood with extraordinary presentiment that the problem facing the German church would not be limited to Germany. He recognized that all the churches in Europe faced the threat of Nazism. How could they live together ecumenically in a time when all Christian life and

¹³ "Un palo atravesado," 10.

thought seemed irrelevant or powerless against the increasing power of Nazism?

Because of what was happening in October 1933, Bonhoeffer accepted a call to be pastor of a group of German evangelicals living in London, and this afforded him the opportunity to confer with Anglican Bishop George Bell of Chichester. Bell had become the Chairman of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, which together with the World Conference on Faith and Order became the nucleus of the World Council of Churches. It was in London that Bonhoeffer began his ecumenical endeavors and, encouraged and guided by Bell, openly exposed the Nazi threat with its racism, militarism, and palpable preparation for war. Churches and church leaders outside Germany, however, were reluctant to say anything or become involved in the internal struggle going on in the German Evangelical Church. Bonhoeffer in turn asked in effect, How could anyone consider the German Church of Bishop Mueller to be an authentic church? Was it not clear to them that ideologically, theologically, and practically the Church was counterfeit? If so, then how then could any true church or church leader assume that this crisis in Germany is of no concern when a sense of solidarity should exist among all true believers and among all free human beings in the world? The culminating moment in this prophetic struggle was the already cited conference in Fanö, Denmark, in August 1934. Despite the fact that by that time it was clear that the Confessing Church was being harassed and persecuted by the Nazis, Bonhoeffer was urged not to read his paper on peace and war. He was not dissuaded, however, and proceeded to give his interpretation of Psalm 85:9-10, in which he developed a truly prophetic vision for the Universal Church, asserting with conviction that God willed peace, not war:

Surely God's salvation is at hand for those who fear him,
that his glory may dwell in our land.
Steadfast love and faithfulness will meet;
righteousness and peace will kiss each other.

Why do we hear the furious cry of earthly powers? Why do we not take that power from them and return it to Christ? There is still time to do it. The Ecumenical Council is now in session, and we can broadcast a call to peace to all believers. The nations in the East and in the West expect this of us. . . . The time is short. The world is astounded as it witnesses the buildup in weaponry. You can see the fear and lack of confidence in everyone's eyes.

Tomorrow we may hear the bugle call to arms. What are we waiting for? Do we want to be, as never before, accomplices to what is happening?¹⁴

Unfortunately, Bonhoeffer's position was considered too radical by many, and the prophetic severity and the full implication of his words were not grasped.

In 1935 those responsible for the provisional management of the Confessional Church requested Bonhoeffer to return to Berlin to direct a program of pastoral formation in a clandestine seminary in Finkenwalde. It was necessary, Bonhoeffer believed, to develop a theological approach that was responsible, unequivocally steeped in the word of God, centered on human questions, and completely committed to dialogue. For he well understood that if the Church in Nazi Germany was unable to develop leaders and believers who would resist what was happening, then the Church would be irrelevant. It was in this historical context that he wrote *Life in Community*, in which he presented a theology in contact with actual life and with the church, each day overwhelmed by more fanatical, antihuman, anti-Jewish propaganda. In a effort to illustrate the extent of Nazi oppression and persecution, Bonhoeffer seized on the famous phrase, "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus" and declared that the "issue of ecclesial communion was a matter of salvific relationships. The limits of the church are the limits of salvation." He continued, "Those who consciously separate themselves from the German Confessional Church are beyond the limits of salvation."¹⁵

The Finkenwalde Seminary was abruptly closed by the Gestapo in October 1937, and during the two years of its operation a new wave of persecution hit the Church. Karl Barth had already been expelled from Germany and found refuge in Switzerland. Like Barth, Paul Tillich fled to Switzerland and soon came to the United States. On July 1, 1937 Pastor Martin Niemöller was arrested and interned in a concentration camp where he remained a prisoner until the end of the war in 1945.

The writer Ernest Weichert, a member of the Confessing Church, protested the violation of the law by the Nazis, and he too was seized and sent to a concentration camp. It was there that he wrote his book, *The Forest of the Dead*. The situation became more critical with every passing day. The persecution and state terrorism against all opponents, especially against the Jews, was unleashed with extraordinary fury beginning on the night of November 9, 1938—the *Reichspogromnacht*, the Night of the Pogrom in the Reich. Nazi cynicism can be seen in the innocuous name given to what happened,

¹⁴ Bonhoeffer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1:219.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:238–9.

Reichskristallnacht, or "Crystal Night," which in fact was a night of lawlessness and destruction for Nazi thugs who did not simply smash and shatter the glass in the windows of Jewish businesses; they also set fire to synagogues, killed more than a hundred innocent people, and in the days that followed deported more than 30,000.¹⁶

Several of Bonhoeffer's friends in America urged him to leave Germany and come to the United States. He did come, but he stayed less than two months—during June and July of 1939. Because of what was happening in his homeland and realizing that he would be unable to go to India and learn from Gandhi, Bonhoeffer returned to Germany. A copy of a letter he wrote from the ship is dated July 6, 1939. In it he said, "At 2:30 P.M. Paul Lehmann came to see me in my room. I was preparing to leave the following day. He had just returned from Columbus, Ohio, and he wanted to see me before I left. We greatly enjoyed the time together. There was great joy. I spent the rest of my time with him."

On July 7 he wrote: "My final day in New York we devoted to theological discussions with Paul, and he helped me get to the ship by 11:30 A.M. for the scheduled departure at 2:30. It is possible that I learned more in this one month than I learned in the whole year I had spent in Union Seminary nine years earlier. At least I learned important things in regard to future decisions I had to make. Probably this trip had many consequences for me."¹⁷

Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnay, a lawyer who worked in the *Abwehr*, the military counterespionage unit under Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, succeeded in recruiting Bonhoeffer to work in the same unit, and this enabled him to avoid being sent into combat as a soldier. It was, of course, all of his international ecumenical contacts that made Bonhoeffer valuable to this *Abwehr* group, which shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1939 organized and implemented their internal resistance, including a plot against Hitler. According to the Anglican bishop George Bell, as early as the fall of 1940—during the stunning military successes of Hitler—several in the *Abwehr* were discussing possible ways to assassinate Hitler. Bell had knowledge of a meeting in which the decision was made to postpone the attempted assassination so as not to make Hitler a martyr. Bonhoeffer's position during this time, however, was categorical: "If we want to be Christians, we do not have the

¹⁶ See Eberhard Bethge, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Uno dei tanti che tacquero? (Conferenza del 1990 sull'atteggiamento di Bonhoeffer di fronte al pogrom nazista del 9 novembre 1938)," *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Amicizia e Resistenza* (Torino, 1995), 61–84, especially the instructive note 1 in which the Nazi pogrom is vividly described. I am indebted to Professor Alberto Ricciardi for his invaluable help in translating these passages from the Italian text.

¹⁷ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Redimidos para lo humano* (*Cartas y diarios 1924–1942*) (Salamanca, 1979), 148–9.

luxury of being prudent. Hitler is the Antichrist. For this reason we should continue our plans to eliminate him whether our efforts are successful or not."¹⁸

This same circle working in counterespionage also organized the escape of Jews from Germany into Switzerland—something absolutely prohibited. When in March 1943 the Gestapo was informed about these efforts to "disperse" Jews taking place under the command of Admiral Canaris, most of the group was arrested. In fact, it was their attempts to help Jews that led to their arrest, not the plot against Hitler. The Gestapo did not learn about the *Abwehr* conspiracy until a year later, that is, after the failed attempt to kill Hitler on July 2, 1944. Bonhoeffer, however, had been arrested on July 5, 1943 and was taken to the Tegel military prison in Berlin. One of his Tegel cellmates was an Italian, Gaetano Latmiral, who later remembered a conversation he had with Bonhoeffer, and by that time it was clear why he had become involved in the resistance movement. He said, according to Latmiral, "As a pastor I felt responsible not only to console the victims of the man who was driving his automobile like a madman on a crowded street. I was also responsible to try to stop him."¹⁹

Bonhoeffer was asked how he came to give witness in ambiguous situations without resorting to religious rhetoric. In his reflections from prison sent to his friend Bethge, Bonhoeffer says that it is not possible to reduce the word of God to mere repetition of biblical verses. Rather, he said, it is necessary to accustom ourselves to living in a "non-religious world" or in a "world devoid of religion" where our life and the incarnated word enable others to know Jesus Christ.²⁰ The question is: How can one preach in a time when people are impressed not by our pious words, but rather by our commitments, our authenticity, and credibility as Christians?

On February 7, 1945, before the beginning of the Allied air bombardment of Berlin, the Tegel inmates were taken from the capital and put in more secure prisons. For Bonhoeffer, it meant solitary confinement. He spent his last days in a subterranean cell where the SS was holding prisoners regarded as potential witnesses against the collapsing regime. In this final stage of his life Bonhoeffer became an isolated believer facing a difficult future, full of doubts and questions, knowing that death was an imminent possibility. Fifty years

¹⁸ See *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1:397ff.

¹⁹ See Delmonte, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer," 11 for the "popular version" of these comments by Bonhoeffer. The text that Delmonte cites is from Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (German version), 955.

²⁰ See, for example, his letter of April 30, 1944 to Bethge (Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* [London: SCM, 1953], 121-5).

later we can ask, Was it not precisely in those last days of being moved twice and held *incommunicado* until he arrived at the place of his execution, Flossenbürg, that he assumed this radical Christian identification with the concrete reality of human existence in "this world," a vital part of his reflection and witness?²¹ Giorgio Tourn recounts our lack of information regarding these ultimate concerns of Bonhoeffer in the following words: "How can Jesus Christ, the Word of hope, be present in this kind of situation? This was the question that had bothered Bonhoeffer for years. How can one speak of the love of God, of the justice of God, of the kingdom of God, or talk of hope in [concentration camps such as] Buchenwald? How can one believe in God and God's justice being choked to death by the fumes of the crematoria?"²² These continue to be fundamental questions fifty years after Bonhoeffer's martyrdom. They are as fundamental as the Confession of Guilt from the church that step by step limped along and failed in its opposition to the Nazi regime. It was the failing and the limping that Bonhoeffer clearly perceived in 1941, and it prompted him to include references to this failure in his new contextualized ethic committed first to the most persecuted and the most abused:

The Church confesses that she has witnessed the lawless application of brutal force, the physical and spiritual suffering of countless innocent people, oppression, hatred and murder, and that she has not raised her voice on behalf of the victims and has not found ways to hasten to their aid. She is guilty of the deaths of the weakest and most defenseless brothers of Jesus Christ.

The Church confesses that she has witnessed in silence the spoliation and exploitation of the poor and the enrichment and corruption of the strong.

The Church confesses herself guilty towards the countless victims of calumny, denunciation and defamation. She has not convicted the slanderer of his wrongdoing, and she has thereby abandoned the slandered to his fate.

The Church confesses that she has desired security, peace and quiet, possessions and honour, to which she has no right, and that in this way she has not bridled the desires of men but has stimulated them still further.²³

²¹ Bethge says that Bonhoeffer was moved from Tegel first to the basement of a prison in Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse where he was subjected to repeated interrogations during the four months he was there. Then he spent seven weeks in "an air-raid shelter" in the concentration camp at Buchenwald. During the last week of his life he was transported in a prison lorry from one place to another and finally to Flossenbürg where he was executed on April 9, 1945 (*Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 797). Translator's note.

²² See Delmonte, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer," 12.

²³ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 50.

II. THE INTRODUCTION OF BONHOEFFER'S LIFE AND THOUGHT TO LATIN AMERICA

Bonhoeffer became known to us in the Latin American Southern Cone after his life and work were being studied in the United States. Many of us who were students at Princeton Theological Seminary had become disciples of Professor Paul Lehmann. I will try to outline his impact on us from my own memory. In 1952, when Richard Shaull became professor in the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas, Brazil, he used as textbooks Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship* (the *Nachfolge*), *Life in Community*, and *Letters and Papers from Prison*.²⁴ It was Shaull's teaching in Campinas and in the Christian Student Movement (*Movimiento Estudiantil Cristiano*, or MEC) that young theological students, one of whom was Rubem Alves, came to know about Bonhoeffer. Shaull repeatedly refers to Bonhoeffer in his books and essays. In fact, the references are so numerous that I call attention to them in this essay. The same is true of the writings of Paul Lehmann, especially in his *Ethics in a Christian Context*²⁵ and *The Transfiguration of Politics*.²⁶

In 1960 Richard Shaull and a group of students were expelled from the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas, Brazil. Rubem Alves, one of the students who was dismissed, distanced himself from the Presbyterian Church and later wrote his *Protestantismo y represión*, or *Protestantism and Repression*.²⁷

Months earlier, that is in 1959, the first steps were taken in Montevideo, Uruguay to begin the movement that came to be known as ISAL, or the *Church and Society in Latin America*. Several of us who had studied with Paul

²⁴ Shaull first referred to Bonhoeffer in 1952 in one of the seminars he gave in Figueiras, Brazil, when he introduced us to *The Cost of Discipleship*. See Julio de Santa Ana, "The Influence of Bonhoeffer on the Theology of Liberation," *Ecumenical Review* 28 (1976): 189. This essay initially was a paper given by Santa Ana in a conference held in Geneva in February 1976, commemorating the seventieth anniversary of Bonhoeffer's birth. See other articles regarding Bonhoeffer in the journal *Cristianismo y Sociedad* (ISAL, Montevideo) during the years 1962–1968. Especially important is "Teología para un mundo maduro" ("Theology for an Adult World"), in issue number 37, in which the most important of Bonhoeffer's writings are summarized.

²⁵ (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

²⁶ The full title is *The Transfiguration of Politics: The Presence and Power of Jesus of Nazareth in and over Human Affairs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975). For consulting the extensive bibliographical materials—books and articles—of Paul Lehmann, I recommend A. J. McKelway and Davis Willis, eds., *The Context of Contemporary Theology: Essays in Honor of Paul Lehmann* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), which contains chapters by Helmut Gollwitzer, Jürgen Moltmann, Eberhard Bethge, and others.

²⁷ The full title is *Protestantism and Repression: A Brazilian Case Study* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1985). Earlier Alves published his Princeton Seminary Ph.D. dissertation entitled *A Theology of Human Hope* (New York: World, 1969). It is ironic, however, that the original title Alves gave to his dissertation was "The Theology of Liberation." It was changed at the request of the publisher. This occurred at least two years before Gustavo Gutiérrez published his now famous *Teología de la Liberación* in 1971.

Lehmann (who had been an intimate friend of Dietrich Bonhoeffer) were present at the Montevideo meeting. As participants in ISAL our relationship with Latin American evangelical youth was timely, as well as socially, economically, politically, and racially relevant. Subsequently the movement extended beyond Uruguay, and groups were formed in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Bolivia. The theological foundation and the purpose of ISAL was to stimulate reflection on every facet of our Latin American reality—political, social, economic, and religious—and consider the impact and responsibility of the evangelical church in this context. With this goal in mind ISAL began publishing the journal, *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, edited by Luis E. Odell. During the years the journal was published individual issues contained numerous articles regarding the social responsibilities of being a Christian, the relationship between Christianity and politics, the meaning and responsibility of being human, as well as descriptions of various social action projects—essays written by a number of different authors including Richard Shaull, Julio de Santa Ana, and Ricardo Couch.²⁸

As far as doing theology, ours was contextual, and our ethic was contextual. It is now clear that this was the result of the influence Bonhoeffer had on Lehmann, who in turn influenced Richard Shaull, who beginning in 1959 made a profound impression on Rubem Alves in Brazil and two professors in the Evangelical Faculty of Theology in Buenos Aires, namely Ricardo Couch and Beatriz Melano. All of us had been Paul Lehmann's students at Princeton Seminary. We learned from Lehmann an ethic based on the life and thinking of Bonhoeffer—not only how to do theology in one's particular context, but also to follow an ethic that was contextual, not normative, an ethic related to the changing reality in the world. We cited Bonhoeffer who, alluding to the words of Christ, said, "We are not of the world, but we are in the world and we exist for others as Christ existed for others." We sought to overcome the division between the church and the world—in the way outlined by Bonhoeffer. This was the goal of ISAL as well as the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in its program on the Life and Mission of the Church, which was promoted by the WSCF in New York with the participation of Waldo Gailand, Margaret Flory, Ruth Harris, Newton Thurber, Bruce Rigdon, and Beatriz Melano. As a member of the Student Volunteer Movement, I was given the executive responsibility to implement the program

²⁸ See, for example, the first study guide, "The Social Responsibility of a Christian," published by the Latin American board of ISAL in Montevideo (June 1964). This 140-page guide contained articles by Rudolf Oberüller, José Miguez Bonino, Julio de Santa Ana, Ricardo Chartier, Rubem Alves, Augusto Fernandez Arit, Luis E. Odell, Hiber Conteris, and Ricardo Couch.

from 1957 to 1959. I did it by planning and directing conferences for university students in various venues throughout the United States.

About the time I was leaving the United States in 1959 to go to Geneva, a small group of young evangelical students in Buenos Aires—among them were David Arcaute,²⁹ Waldo Villalpando, and Elías Salama—began to meet at the YMCA on Reconquista Street. Waldo Galán, Secretary of the Universal Federation of the Christian Student Movement (FUMEC), and Mauricio López, Secretary of the Christian Student Movement in Latin America, assigned me to restart the Christian Student Movement in Argentina. I was sent from Geneva to Buenos Aires to initiate this work, and it was in Buenos Aires that we began to study Bonhoeffer. Slowly the little group began to grow. In February 1960 I organized a conference held in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in José de Paz. There for the first time a large number of Christian students from Argentina and Uruguay met together along with a few who had come from Chile, such as Hiber Conteris and Julio de Santa Ana. During this retreat, actually made possible by Mauricio López, we did Bible studies in the mornings under the direction of Roberto E. Ríos and had lectures in theology by Emilio Castro. In the afternoons various sociologists, political leaders from all the parties, workers, students, and specialists in other sciences were invited to speak. Then in the evenings we reviewed what we had heard and discussed the significance of the presence of Christian students in the world. In brief, we sought to apply a contextualized theological dynamic and a contextualized ethic—a theology from praxis that years later was called the “Theology of Liberation.”

Earlier, in 1959, I had organized a meeting in Mattheu—a town in greater Buenos Aires—at a retreat center belonging to the Association of Christian Youth. A large number of Protestant young people came—both men and women—from multiple denominations, as well as several Catholic students. In fact, the Mattheu retreat was the seed planted for the José C. Paz conference, as well as the later International Meeting of the Student Christian Movement in Córdoba, Argentina in 1964. The previous year, 1963, representatives of ISAL gathered in a retreat center of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Buenos Aires province. Many whom I have already mentioned—especially the ISAL and WSCF leaders from Argentina and Uruguay—were present. I remember well the long hikes we took with Richard Shaull and the interchanges we had regarding the work and the future

²⁹ See David Arcaute, “Una generación en el encuentro con Bonhoeffer,” *Testimonium* (Buenos Aires) 11 (1965): 26–33.

projects of both organizations. For this providential time together I thank God.

As for ISAL and ecumenical relations—so important to Bonhoeffer—they built on these conferences and retreats by coming together in July of 1961 for the second meeting of ISAL in Huampaní near Lima, Peru. There we launched the Movement for Evangelical Unity in Latin America (UNELAM). A number of representatives from the Latin American Union of Evangelical Youth (ULAJE) were present in this meeting in Huampaní. Shortly thereafter Jorgelina Losada, a female pastor, led in organizing the Latin American Commission of Christian Education (CELADEC). The Commission established and fostered relations with the World Federation of Christian Students and assumed a responsibility for promoting ecumenism, Latin American unity, and Christian education—themes distinctly Bonhoefferian.³⁰

In short, during these years we looked for ways to incarnate the presence of Christ along with the spirit of love, solidarity, mutual respect, and shared vocation—all of which evidenced the impact of Bonhoeffer's thinking on us. Beginning in March 1959, Bonhoeffer's biblical and theological foundations shaped our thinking as students and as professors in the *Facultad Evangélica de Teología*—the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires, subsequently renamed The Evangelical Institute of Theological Studies, or ISEDET. We sought to develop a theology that was pertinent to Latin America, a theology committed to society in its totality, related to the church universal, and stressing the unity of the churches in Latin America. Ours was an ecumenical generation. Above all, it was because of the activities of FUMEC and the work done in the theological faculties in Buenos Aires³¹ and the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas, Brazil, that we were so ecumenically minded. The change actually began, however, in 1952 when Richard Shaull introduced Bonhoeffer's *Cost of Discipleship* in the Campinas Seminary.

³⁰ Luis Enrique Odell, in a personal letter to me written from Barcelona, 4 August 1995, responded to several questions I raised regarding ISAL, UNELAM, CLAI, and their relation to the Bonhoefferian concept of church unity in the economic, political, social, and ecclesiological reality of Latin America. He responded saying that as far as UNELAM was concerned, "I would say that we know that the origin of CLAI [the Latin American Council of Churches], its advocacy for the unity of the church of Jesus Christ rooted in our theological and ethical reality and an integral part of Christian discipleship, are all Bonhoefferian themes."

³¹ Particularly significant is an issue of *Testimonium*, the Latin American Christian Student Movement journal, volume 11 (Buenos Aires, October 1965). It contains articles by Jose Miguez Bonino, Albert H. van den Huevel, David Arcaute, Georges Casalis, and a translation of two fragments from Bonhoeffer's *Ethics*. This particular copy of *Testimonium* clearly exhibits Bonhoeffer's influence on Latin American students and how it came to be accepted through various intermediaries, such as the leaders in the Student Christian Movement and professors in the Evangelical Seminary in Buenos Aires.

Shaull's presentation of Bonhoeffer exerted a tremendous influence on these Brazilian students, and it incited a strong desire to know more about the life and work of this theological martyr. This desire intensified in 1961 when Professor Paul Lehmann came to Buenos Aires to give the Carnahan Lectures at ISEDET. These were followed nine years later, in 1970, with the lectures of Eberhard Bethge, a close friend, biographer, and disseminator of Bonhoeffer's thought. This Bonhoefferan way of doing theology was transmitted first by Shaull, and it helped us greatly to overcome the traditional dualism that characterized Latin American Protestant life and thinking at that time. Bonhoeffer was clearly committed to Christ and to his church. Yet, at the same time Bonhoeffer was equally aware of the realities of his historical context and contemporary world. Shaull's discourse on Christ and discipleship in one of the meetings of the Student Christian Federation in which he alluded to Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison*, a portion of which was published in the 1950s in the journal of the Evangelical Seminary in Buenos Aires, *Cuadernos Teológicos*,³² stressed not only the need for the authenticity and credibility of the church, but also the necessity for the church to be committed to its historical reality.

Thus, by the mid-1950s, a number of students and evangelical leaders in the Southern Cone of Latin America were being challenged and inspired by Bonhoeffer. Before the close of the decade we began to gather and talk, and from those meetings ISAL was born—which was a significant contribution of the Protestant church to the world of evangelical thought and action. I believe, as Julio de Santa Ana says, that we cannot explain the emergence of ISAL apart from the influence of Dietrich Bonhoeffer.³³ Above all, some of us were focusing our attention on the underdeveloped and exploited segments of our society that needed liberation. In our thinking in ISAL and as Latin American participants in the Student Christian movement—especially those in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay—there was no other theologian who influenced more our discussions and commitment than Dietrich Bonhoeffer. As I have already indicated, Richard Shaull likewise played a crucial role in all this ferment. In 1966 Shaull said in regard to the whole movement that was emerging in Latin America within sectors of a church awakening and lucid, searching for solutions to urgent social and economic problems, "The God who is tearing down the old structures in order to create the conditions for a

³² "Cartas y apuntes de la prisión," *Cuadernos Teológicos* 5 (1956). See also David Arcaute, "Bibliografía: Dietrich Bonhoeffer," *Cuadernos Teológicos* 1 (1972): 67–71.

³³ Santa Ana describes Bonhoeffer's influence on liberation theology as "maieutic, since it was in the course of dialogue with his work that some Latin Americans were enabled to solve some of the problems facing them" ("Influence," 189).

more human existence is himself in the midst of the struggle. It is his presence in the world and his pressure upon those structures which stand in his way that constitute the dynamics of the process."³⁴

This kind of thinking led ISAL to the threshold of the theology of liberation, which was first articulated by Rubem Alves. In fact, as I have already noted, the phrase was coined prior to the 1972 publication of *Una Teología de la Liberación* by Gustavo Gutierrez, and even before the meeting of the Latin American bishops in Medellín in 1968.

ISAL had positioned itself early in 1962, and clearly those in power regarded the organization as something "subversive," given the fact that following the coups d'état in Uruguay in June 1973 and in Chile in September 1973 ISAL ceased to exist in the Southern Cone. Unfortunately—and this is my personal opinion—by the middle of the 1960s, in the course of the debate as to how one could be committed to social change in Latin America, some Christians began to consider the possibility of taking up arms as revolutionaries. In a certain sense they confused the witness of Bonhoeffer with that of an armed guerrilla movement. Moreover, those who considered resorting to armed violence in the process of liberating Latin America—in my judgment—did not understand that Bonhoeffer would have never defended a guerrilla group. This option to use violence, however, seduced many Latin American Christians, and unfortunately some chose to see the death of Dietrich Bonhoeffer at the hands of the Nazi scourge, and his earlier participation in a plot to assassinate Hitler, as a kind of inspiration and legitimization of violence as a possible Christian recourse. They did not know about Bonhoeffer's earlier writings on peace or that his decision to be involved in the assassination conspiracy was a choice he knew was *not* Christian, as I pointed out in the first part of this essay.

I want to conclude these reflections with a personal testimony. Not only in Professor Paul Lehmann's classes, in his Princeton Seminary courses on "Ethics, Faith and the Contemporary World" and "Christianity and Communism," but also in those occasions when as students we were able to talk informally with him were we able to learn about Bonhoeffer. Paul and Marion Lehmann were generous in meeting with us and relating to us the details of their contact with Bonhoeffer before he returned to Germany for the last time. Citing the words of Bethge, "Paul and Marion Lehmann's house in New York became a kind of American home for Bonhoeffer, and he

³⁴ "Revolutionary Change in Theological Perspective," in *Christian Social Ethics in a Changing World: An Ecumenical Theological Inquiry*, ed. John C. Bennett (London: SCM, 1966), 33.

celebrated his twenty-fifth birthday there.”³⁵ The Lehmanns shared with us letters between Bonhoeffer and them as well as details regarding his relation with Joseph Hromádka, who, following World War II, founded the Christian Peace Conference in Prague.³⁶ Lehmann also spoke of Bonhoeffer’s desire and plans to go to India in order to spend time and learn methods of passive resistance from Gandhi.³⁷ We listened as Paul spoke of Bonhoeffer’s relations with Reinhold Niebuhr, Willem Adolph Visser ’t Hooft, and others.³⁸

The teaching, encouragement, and sincere friendship that developed between Lehmann and us continually sustained us in our efforts as professors of theology in Brazil and in Argentina during the difficult and critical years of military dictatorships in our countries. This collegueship empowered us to reflect as well as to act with courage and faith in the arduous, unrelenting struggle for human rights in the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, in the Human Rights Resource Office for Latin America of the Ecumenical Movement, in the Peace and Justice Service, and in our accompanying the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo.³⁹ Our protest marches were vigorous, yet peaceful, and our theological teaching concentrated on the moment in history in which we were living. It was Bonhoeffer’s example, mediated to us through Paul Lehmann, that gave us faith and courage when the police interrogated us in our homes and in the jails, inventoried our personal libraries, and falsely accused many of us of being “subversives” and “communists.” Also, I must note that it was in the home of Luis and Elena Odell in Montevideo where many of us—including Julio and Violene de Santa Ana, Hiber Conteris, Emilio Castro, and others in ISAL and in the Student Christian Movement of Argentina and Uruguay—found acceptance, solidarity, and support. Thus, we are indebted not only to the Lehmanns in New York, but also to the Odells in Montevideo for their friendship and tutelage during this critical juncture in our lives.

Let me conclude this testimony of gratitude with the profound and haunting words of Bonhoeffer himself when he says, “It is infinitely easier to suffer in obedience to a human command than to accept suffering as free,

³⁵ *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 114.

³⁶ This happened after Hromádka returned from Princeton Seminary to Czechoslovakia in 1947.

³⁷ See Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 332.

³⁸ See, e.g., the multiple references to Bonhoeffer in Visser ’t Hooft’s *Memoirs* (Geneva: WCC, 1973), 107, 108–9, 151–5, 189. Translator’s note.

³⁹ These were the mothers of those who disappeared during the years of military dictatorship in Argentina from 1973–1982. See, e.g., *Political Killings by Governments. An Amnesty International Report* (London: Amnesty International, 1983), 50–60. Translator’s note.

responsible men. It is infinitely easier to suffer with others than to suffer alone. It is infinitely easier to suffer as public heroes than to suffer apart and in ignominy. It is infinitely easier to suffer physical death than to endure spiritual suffering. Christ suffered as a free man alone, apart and in ignominy, in body and in spirit, and since that day many Christians have suffered with him."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See *Prisoner for God: Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 24.

Return of the Double-Minded

by C. CLIFTON BLACK

C. Clifton Black, Otto A. Piper Professor of Biblical Theology, preached this sermon at the opening communion service in Miller Chapel on September 20, 2000.

TEXTS: MARK 9:30–37; JAMES 3:16–4:10

WELL, HERE WE ARE: Sometimes the busy elves that cobble together the lectionary throw at us spitballs of scripture that are no help at all. In the Gospel of Mark those idiot disciples are at it again: dense, scared, whining over which of them earned the highest GPA. Thank God, that does not look anything like us. The Letter of James warns fledgling Christians away from backbiting and jealousy, selfish ambition and intramural warfare, clambering over each other on their greasy pole to the top. Let us heave a relieved sigh that we are beyond all that, too. Lord have mercy: We are Princeton.

Just now, in the peachy dawn of academic year 2000, it may seem to us incredible that we could ever resemble our great-grandparents in those backward congregations. As this year unfolds, however, it is remotely possible—there is a slim chance—that we may someday hold the Bible to our face and recognize there ourselves. Should that day come, here are some things I hope you will consider.

To begin with: “Where do all these wars and battles among us come from? They come from your cravings that are at war within you” (Jas 4:1). That is Saint James’s diagnosis, and he refers to the disease as *dipsychesis*, double-mindedness. The Hebrews had another name for this condition: *bēlēb wālēb*, the divided heart.

Now, you know what the *leb* is. Jeremiah confessed, “You, O LORD, have noted and observed and you have tested my *leb*—my secret thoughts—and you have found them with you” (Jer 12:3). The *leb* is the seat of the psyche, the heart of our secret thoughts. Your *leb* is the real You, who hides behind the many masks you and I display to the world. Now, the real You may be the You that you would not want anyone to know about: the You that you might be embarrassed for someone else to discern, because it seemed so shallow or silly, or perhaps even so lusty or grasping. Sometimes in the Old Testament something like that is what the Lord finds when probing the *leb*. But in its deepest chamber the real You—the authentic creature made in God’s own image—is crafted for love. “You must love the LORD your God with all your *leb* and with all your *nepeš*—your appetite—and with all your physical strength” (Deut 6:5). The deepest You within you is built for love: to love one another

and, most especially, to love and to enjoy God forever. Everything else is merely instrumental to that end. All of our work, study, knowledge, prayer, aspirations, theology—everything, every last bit of it, is a tool intended to help us love God and one another more deeply.

And yet, as Saint Augustine reminds us, we get so easily confused. What we ought to be using, perversely we love. And those whom we should be loving, we twist to our use. Our hearts get split; our minds, doubled; our cravings, divided. When our *leb* becomes internally conflicted, what happens? Typically, we do business the same way the world does: We lash out and grind down one another. That is what James says, and he is right.

“It is not my fault. Someone else is to blame.” This is a pattern you can trace back to Eden. The Lord asked the man, “Who told you that you were naked? Did you eat from the tree from which I forbade you to eat?” And the man said, “It was that woman you put at my side. She gave it to me. It is her fault that I ate it.” And the Lord said to the woman, “What the hell have you done?” The woman replied, “It was that serpent you made. He conned me. It is his fault that I ate it.”

Wait until the clouds come rolling in around November, and we will all be back in Eden. “Well, I got a C on the Bible exam, but it is not my fault. It is because of those teachers whose class they made me take—those professors who do not know or care how devoted I am, how hard I worked. I doubt those jokers are even Christian. They are the ones to blame.”

If you manage to overcome your suspicion and look to the faculty to bail you out, you may as well forget it. We are in *dipsychesis* up to our eyeballs. “Well, I would give better lectures, by now I would have that book finished, my promotion would be buttoned up, that juicy grant would be mine—if only the President were not determined to assign me to every time-wasting, brain-numbing committee that he can concoct. It is his fault.”

Or it is the fault of our supervisors, or of the session. Our ministries would be ten times more effective if only the church would stay out of our way. It is the Seminary’s Board of Trustees who are to blame. One of the trustees is visiting with us on the faculty this year, Professor Frank Garcia-Treto. Frank, we appreciate your being so conveniently nearby for us to kick around this year. And while we play this jolly game of scapegoat—passing the buck until it is so thin you could read Barth’s *Dogmatics* through it and yanking out each other’s shirttail and setting it on fire—Saint James will whisper in our ear: “You want something and do not have it; so you murder. And you are jealous for something and cannot obtain it; so you fight and wage war. You do not have, because you do not ask. You ask and you do not receive, because you ask

badly" (Jas 4:2-3a). You think making the grade at Princeton Seminary is tough? That is a Twinkie, compared to learning to become single-minded disciples of Jesus Christ.

Listen: "You are a people consecrated to the LORD your God; of all the peoples on earth the LORD your God chose you to be his treasured people. It is not because you are the most numerous of peoples that the LORD set his heart on you and chose you—in fact, you are the smallest of peoples" (Deut 7:6-7). It is not—I would add—that you are the most attractive, most likely to succeed, the brightest and best of scholars, pastors, and professors that God selected you and set God's love upon you. "No, it is because the LORD loves you and is keeping a promise made to [Israel and] your forebears that the LORD liberated you with a mighty hand and rescued you from the house of bondage" (Deut 7:8). Only the Lord can redeem us, whether from the hand of Pharaoh or the self-captivity of our own deluded messianism. Why does God do this? Because, and only because, God loves us and keeps God's promise.

That is why this table is spread before us. The first-born of all creation, in whom all things hold together—the *eikōn* of God who did not reckon equality with God a thing to be exploited, the one who was first of all—emptied himself, took the form of a slave, became last of all and servant of all to the point of death. My God: even death on a cross. With each return to this table, with every stabilizing consecration of our heavenly Father's name, our hearts are enlarged into a more abundant graciousness; our minds are more serenely conformed to the mind of Christ; our knees can bend with easier suppleness at the name of Jesus, who loved me and gave himself for me, and for you, and for this tortured world that God embraces in healing and is still putting right.

Come to this table, now and throughout the coming days. Pray and sing and laugh, not to celebrate our own faith, but to thank God for continuing to have faith in us. Fight the devil, and he will run away from you. Come closer to God and—you may rest in confident peace—God will draw near to you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

A Matter of Goals

by THOMAS W. GILLESPIE

President Thomas W. Gillespie of Princeton Theological Seminary delivered this Charge to Faculty in the renovated Miller Chapel on October 10, 2000. The service marked the installation of new faculty members Dana R. Wright and Richard Fox Young and of promoted faculty members Robert C. Dykstra, Deborah van Deusen Hunsinger, and Dennis T. Olson.

LONG BEFORE academic accreditation associations were created, even long before these associations conceived of “outcomes” as a standard for accreditation, teachers have had their pedagogical goals, and their teaching has had its results. The earliest Christian teachers were no exception. Consider the goals of teaching implicit in this apostolic exhortation to the churches in Colossae and Laodicea:

As you therefore have received Christ Jesus the Lord, continue to live your lives in him, rooted and built up in him and established in the faith, just as you were taught, abounding in thanksgiving. (Col 2:6–7)

This word of encouragement assumes a certain educational experience. The Colossian and Laodicean Christians are urged to continue living their lives in Christ, lives that are, metaphorically speaking, “rooted and built up” in Christ, lives that are “established in the faith”—“*just as you were taught.*”

It was Epaphras, not Paul, who first proclaimed the gospel to the Colossians and the Laodiceans in western Asia Minor (Col 1:3–8), and that proclamation entailed teaching. The phrase “received Christ Jesus the Lord” refers not solely to their individual and personal acceptance of Jesus as God’s Messiah and their Lord. The Greek verb *paralambanein* is a technical term that denotes the reception of tradition as delivered by a teacher. Paul uses the term in this sense in 1 Corinthians 15 when he writes:

Now I would remind you, brothers and sisters, of the good news that I proclaimed to you, which you in turn received, in which also you stand, through which also you are being saved, if you hold firmly to the message that I proclaimed to you. (1 Cor 15:1–2a)

Then he cites the tradition he has transmitted to them in his missionary preaching:

For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,

and that he was buried,
and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures,
and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. (1 Cor 15:3-5)

In his Letter to the Galatians, the apostle pronounces an anathema upon anyone who proclaims a gospel to these churches that is "contrary to what we proclaimed to you" and that is "contrary to what you received" (Gal 1:8-9). The point is that preaching the gospel entailed in those early days a didactic element that attested by way of tradition to Jesus who is the Christ of God and the Lord of the world. The pedagogical goal of such instruction was to enable people by faith to "root" their lives in this Jesus, to "build up" their lives in this Jesus, and to "establish" their lives in "the faith" which has this Jesus as its object and content. All of this, "just as you were taught."

The teaching envisioned here was certainly informational. Tradition is data transmitted by telling, narration, and recital, and the gospel tradition is no exception. When Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles in addition to his Gospel, he opened the door to church history as the tradition of what the risen Christ is doing in the world by the presence and power of his Spirit among the people of God.

So today in our teaching we engage in a critical appropriation of the biblical tradition as well as our ecclesial, theological, confessional, and liturgical traditions. Contemporary theological education is clearly an introduction to the richness of what might be called the Christian tradition. To that extent we are in sync with the early Christian educators reflected in the Letter to the Colossians.

But there is more to it than that, much more. The purpose of teaching is to root people not merely in a tradition, but in the reality that is Jesus Christ. In his inaugural lecture, our own Professor Scott Hendrix called our attention to the fact that the various reformations of the sixteenth century had this in common. Whether Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, or Roman Catholic, each in its own way was an attempt to re-root the faith in the lives of the people in their churches. Preaching and catechetical instruction were the two primary ways of accomplishing that end.

The goal is achieved when people do in fact put their personal roots down deep in the reality of Jesus Christ, when they find their identity and purpose for living in him. Success, however, makes theological education today often a painful experience, for students who are being introduced to the great traditions are frequently overwhelmed by the sheer amount of information presented and sometimes find their root commitment being threatened by the expansiveness of it all. The good teacher is one who recognizes this dilemma

and who keeps in view the goal of deepening the rootedness of student lives in the nourishing reality of Jesus Christ.

If the metaphor of the root comes from agriculture, that of upbuilding stems from the world of construction—a world that has been on our doorstep for over a year now with the renovation of Miller Chapel and the building of Scheide Hall. Often in academic circles the term *edifying* is used to put down theological work that is viewed as naïve and insufficiently critical, and there may be some justification for that. It is unfortunate that what passes as critical theology is all too often unconcerned about its impact upon the church in general or believers in particular. But construction itself is a critical and analytical endeavor. It involves not only architects and engineers who understand such esoteric matters as adequate foundations, weight distribution, and bearing beams, but contractors and workers who can read the plans and bring them into reality. Then there are the building inspectors who make sure that the construction is in fact sound. So upbuilding or edification in theological education is by definition a critical, analytical task that seeks to effect sound growth in those who are rooted in Jesus Christ.

Perhaps in our postmodern age, when strategies of deconstruction reign in our intellectual culture, we need to be reminded of the old Texas adage: “Any mule can kick down a barn that took ten good carpenters to build.” The pedagogical emphasis, in other words, needs to be on upbuilding students in their root relationship to Jesus Christ while expanding their horizons, deepening their understanding, and increasing their sensitivities. At the end of the educational process we look for graduates who are “established in the faith,” the Greek verb *bebaion* suggesting the strengthening of students in their personal faith (*fides quae creditur*) as well as in their understanding of faith’s content (*fides qua creditur*).

So, on this occasion of your installation as teachers on the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, I charge you simply to consider the educational goals of your ancient counterparts who taught in order that their students might be “rooted and built up” in Jesus Christ the Lord.

Painting a New Portrait: Charles Hodge and Abraham Lincoln

by DAVID WHITFORD

David Whitford is Assistant Professor of Religion and Philosophy at Claflin University in Orangeburg, SC and a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary (M.Div., 1992).

THE PORTRAIT often drawn of Charles Hodge is a caricature. He is drawn in sharp lines of black and white, portrayed as an influential, but unimaginative theologian, one rigid and unyielding—in short, an important but uninviting man. This picture, however, is an over-simplification. His pastoral side is often overlooked. The custom of the Seminary from its early years was to gather each Sunday afternoon in the Oratory in Alexander Hall for what was called “the conference,” a time of prayer and informal reflection on a passage of scripture dealing with a timely topic. Hodge’s son writes, “Here the venerable professors appeared rather as friends and pastors than as instructors. The dry and cold attributes of scientific theology moving in the sphere of the intellect gave place to the warmth of personal religious experience.”¹ Hodge, as Senior Professor, was primarily responsible for these discussions from 1848 to his death in 1878.

In Archibald Alexander Hodge’s biography of his father, he records that his father was an ardent supporter of the Union and of Mr. Lincoln. Charles Hodge’s conference talk of April 16, 1865, the Sunday following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, represents a unique glimpse at the theologian. A student records that he “saw deeper into [Hodge’s] heart that day than ever before or since.”² Charles Hodge himself would later write of that day: “It was not merely for the loss of a great man when most needed, or of one who had rendered his country inestimable service, but grief for a man whom everyone personally loved.”³

The news of the assassination reached the campus on Saturday morning, April 15, and classes were immediately dismissed. Joshua Russell, a student at the time, passed Charles Hodge’s house and saw the old man standing outside his study door. He was stopped by Hodge, who asked him what had happened.

¹ Archibald Alexander Hodge, introduction to *Conference Papers*, by Charles Hodge, ed. A. A. Hodge (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1879), iii.

² J. L. Russell, *The Presbyterian* (April 1879), quoted in Hodge, *Conference Papers*, 482.

³ Charles Hodge, *The Princeton Review* (July 1865), quoted in Hodge, *Conference Papers*, 483.

Russell records that he told Hodge "the facts of the case as reported. With quivering lips and face pallid as death Hodge said 'O, it cannot be, it cannot be! My poor country!'" Dr. Hodge called the community together for prayer—a prayer that began and ended with a "sob."

Later that afternoon he wrote his conference talks for the next day, Easter Sunday, 1865. The conference paper—reproduced below—is in outline form, and as such represents the kernel of his thought. It was Hodge's custom to write meticulous notes and then to deliver the talk freely in a "discussion" format.

The talk focuses on suffering and the providence of God. Though there is no reference to Lincoln in the talk, that experience of loss and suffering seen in the background greatly enlightens the text. The text he chose was Heb 2:10, a text that focuses on God's redemptive purposes being effected through the suffering of his servant Son. Though Hodge would never have equated Lincoln with Christ, it is difficult to miss the subtle similarities.

The forces of darkness seem to have won a battle in the death of Lincoln, yet Hodge replies that nevertheless God is the author of history. The message of hope is not exaggerated, yet after reading the whole talk one feels a sense of assurance that God is leading history. The perfecting of Christ serves to remind us that in the end God will perfect all things. Here we have a glimpse into the heart of Hodge, for here we see how he dealt with suffering in his own heart and, as a pastor, with that of his flock:

Charles Hodge's Talk
at the Seminary's Sunday Afternoon Conference
April 16, 1865

"For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings." Hebrews 2:10

There are two general views of theology, and of course also religion, one homocentric and the other theocentric. According to one all things are arranged and explained so as to accord with the assumed powers, and claims, and dignity of man. According to the other, God is the end of all things—the exhibition of his character, the revelation of his glory as the means of the elevation and blessedness of rational creatures.

The former is the one which human nature is prone to adopt. The latter is that of the Sacred Scriptures and therefore consonant to pure reason.

So the two theories of the universe so far as concerns our system are: the geocentric and the heliocentric. If the former be assumed all is confusion.

The facts refuse to conform to it. So it is also in theology. The text, in accordance with all other Scripture, makes God the centre. He is presented under two aspects, as the end and the author of all things. Creation, Providence, and Redemption have one common end, the Glory of God. All events have one common author. All things are determined by God, and their occurrence secured by him, but so that he is in no sense the author of sin. It is this sublime truth which lies at the foundation of all theology and all religion.

What is specifically here presents? 1. First, the end to be accomplished. 2d. The means of its accomplishment, the sufferings of the author of our salvation. 3d. The reason why this means was necessary to the end.

I. The end, bringing many sons unto Glory. Sons, i.e. objects of affection and heirs. Those upon whom the special, sovereign and mysterious love of God had fixed; and whom he had determined to make heirs of an inheritance, inscrutable, ever fixed, and which passeth not away. This inheritance is expressed by the word glory which is used not only 1. for honor or demonstration of respect, and 2. for external majesty and splendor, but also for internal excellence and perfection, i.e., As when we speak of the Glory of God or the Glory of the Saints. The end to be attained is the exaltation of guilty and polluted man to the full perfection, highest dignity, and blessedness of their nature. To this they are brought. They do not bring themselves. It is the work of God.

II. The means requisite for this end—not their own sufferings but the sufferings of Christ on their behalf. He is called the *archegos* [chief] of their salvation. He [is] called the *archegos* of life, of faith, and of salvation the one absolutely *archegos*. He is [the] author of our salvation so that *archegos* is equivalent to *soter*. So He was perfective either in the sense of being perfectly qualified for his work of saving sinner; or in the sense of being himself brought to the telos—the full completion of his course. So that Christ's being perfected is equivalent to him glorified. The idea is the main truth, the necessity of his sufferings, the end could not otherwise be attained. A teaching savior, and exemplary savior, almighty savior, [an] almighty savior would not suffice. He needed to be a suffering savior.⁴

⁴ Charles Hodge, Untitled Conference Talk (4/16/1865), Special Collections, Library Archives, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton. Published by permission.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jenson, Robert W. *Systematic Theology, Volume Two: The Works of God*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. 380. \$55.00.

This volume completes a major systematic theology by the Lutheran theologian Robert Jenson. Senior Scholar for Research at the Center of Theological Inquiry in Princeton and Co-Editor of the journal *Pro Ecclesia*, Jenson here condenses and integrates themes from prolific prior writings that have included significant books on Jonathan Edwards and on the Trinity. The result is a work of the first rank. Much less encyclopedic than Pannenberg's *Systematic Theology* (and a boon to many readers on that account), it deserves to be mentioned in the same class for its rigor and unity. Jenson's approach is a distinctive blend of the Lutheran theology of the word, elements of narrative theology, and motifs from Eastern Orthodoxy in the approach to the Trinity and to salvation as *theosis* or deification. Barth and Pannenberg may be the primary interlocutors for his work, but they are both the subject of incisive, if matter-of-fact correction on various points.

Jenson's systematic project is an impressive exhibit in the recent renewal of trinitarian theology, for the keynote of his project is to focus each topic through the triune identity of God. The first volume gave a rich exposition of that identity as fundamentally a conversation of the three divine persons and developed christological doctrine in that perspective. This second volume turns to creation, creatures, the church, and eschatology, ranging from politics and sexuality to sacraments and angels. At each step, Jenson tries to derive theological concepts from the trinitarian reference. So, for example, he finds that the most fundamental definition we may give of "time" is God's "accommodation in his divine life for other persons and things than the three whose mutual life he is." He refashions the tools of theology to the shape of his trinitarian assumptions with impressive rigor. The results when these tools are deployed are often illuminating. This is the case in his discussions of liturgy, sacraments, and ministry, where the broad trinitarian themes are given convincingly concrete application to questions of the church's living practice. Even more in this volume than the first, Jenson treats each topic with an eye to its meaning for the church's actual worship, confession, discipline, and order.

This is a demanding book, not because of a parade of citations or obscure arguments but because of its compressed intensity. Jenson often presupposes that his audience can grasp the traditional state of a question through a quick

allusion and then moves to his own argument or formulation. Systematic theologies are wont to approach their positive contributions by means of long restatements of the problem. Jenson comes to the point with a bracing alacrity, whether the topic is the universal pastorate of the bishop of Rome or our relation with departed saints. Some may find this a mixed virtue in the case of his politically incorrect conclusions about abortion, homosexuality, and trinitarian language. And the compression of Jenson's presentation sometimes leaves the reader wishing for a fuller argument or a response to countering perspectives. But, in sum, I have rarely read a book that so consistently sheds new light on well-worn topics or that hews so faithfully to its own guiding principles.

S. Mark Heim
Andover Newton Theological School

Gunton, Colin E., ed. *Trinity, Time, and Church: A Response to the Theology of Robert W. Jenson*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. Pp. 331. \$38.00.

The theology of Robert Jenson, currently Senior Research Fellow at the Center of Theological Inquiry in Princeton, has attracted a great deal of attention lately. His two-volume *Systematic Theology* (Oxford, 1997, 1999) was the subject of several responses in the premier issue of the *International Journal of Systematic Theology*. Although Jenson has excited considerable interest for several decades across traditions and continents, the volume currently under review represents the most comprehensive reaction to date. This festschrift is edited by his former student, Colin Gunton, and the list of authors in the table of contents reads like a section of "Who's Who" in theology. Space does not allow a summary of every contribution, but we can identify several recurrent themes, already suggested by the title of the book.

The doctrine of the Trinity has long been a central focus of Jenson's work and continues to shape his thought in his *Systematic Theology* (the first volume is titled *The Triune God*). Building on a long dialogue with Jenson about trinitarian doctrine, Wolfhart Pannenberg's contribution begins by affirming Jenson's emphasis on the three persons of the Trinity, but argues that we cannot speak also of the *one* God as a "person" (as Jenson does). Pannenberg also reiterates his own view of God's relation to time, wherein God "looks at the whole of time as we do when a period is complete." Jenson has noted in other writings that Pannenberg's view of God's relation to time is not sufficiently radical; Jenson argues that God is not merely identified *by* the events of Exodus and resurrection—God is identified *with* them.

One concern raised by several contributors is that Jenson has conceptualized the link between God and the world too closely, risking the real transcendence of God from the world. This complaint is most explicit in Douglas Knight's chapter on the role of "time" in Jenson's theology, but also underlies the responses of Gabriel Fackre (on the Lutheran *capax*), Colin Gunton (on "mediation" in creation), and even James Buckley's overwhelmingly positive analysis of the character of Jenson's theology as "intimacy." The chapter by Tuoma Mannermaa offers a concise explanation of the way in which Jenson's doctrine of justification is so intimately linked with trinitarian ontology, wherein God makes God's history ours also. R. L. Wilken offers an excellent analysis of several of the patristic sources that have influenced Jenson's reflections on the Holy Spirit.

Robert Jenson has played an important role in several ecumenical discussions over the last decades, and this is reflected in the variety of traditions represented in the festschrift. We find responses to his radical view of the sacraments and of church as actually the body of Christ from a Catholic (Susan K. Wood) and a Wesleyan (Geoffrey Wainwright) perspective. Jenson's many contributions to a theology of culture and politics are summarized and analyzed by thinkers as diverse as Christoph Schwöbel, Richard J. Neuhaus, Gilbert Meilaender, and Stanley Hauerwas. For those unfamiliar with Jenson's work, the first and last chapters by Carl E. Braaten, his longtime friend and collaborator, are especially helpful. Neuhaus calls Jenson "America's theologian." Wilken argues that if one wishes to be a theologian today, in addition to reading the Bible and the church fathers, one should also read Jenson. These comments illustrate the power of Jenson's compelling vision for systematic theology.

F. LeRon Shults
Bethel Theological Seminary

Moltmann, Jürgen, Nicholas Wolterstorff, and Ellen T. Charry. *A Passion for God's Reign: Theology, Christian Learning, and the Christian Self*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998. Pp. 112. \$12.00.

A 1996 conference on "Christianity and Western Values" at Fuller Theological Seminary was the occasion generating the five essays comprising this book. Jürgen Moltmann, emeritus professor of theology at University of Tübingen, contributes three essays inquiring how a theology devoted to Christ's church and the kingdom of God should deal with the relationship of modernity to theology, the revaluation of Christian and modern values, and

theology's place in the university. Nicholas Wolterstorff, professor of philosophical theology at Yale Divinity School, and Ellen T. Charry, professor of systematic theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, offer appreciative and provocative responses to Moltmann.

Moltmann, who was the chief originator of "political theology," advances his well-known claim that Christian theology is "public" theology because it is kingdom of God theology. Moltmann's presenting question is how Christian theology can be public at the supposed "end of modernity." In Moltmann's view the postmodernists have stressed two factors as the cause of modernity's demise: (1) the positive claim that the triumph of the Enlightenment's children, capitalism and democracy, has put an end to risk and contingency and thus to history itself, and (2) the negative claim that fear of the nuclear, the economic, and the ecological end time has effectively ended the modern ways of coping with history. For Moltmann, we are not experiencing the end of history but rather the fall into "submodernity." To leave behind modernity would be to forsake the means by which we can confront the disasters of modernity. The project of eastern scientific-technological civilization has become the destiny of humanity. We can neither continue as before nor forsake the project and allow the ruination of the world. The only option left to us, argues Moltmann, is the "reinvention" of the modern world. Just as the modern world began not so much from a "discovery" of the modern world but from an invention of the imagination, so the reformation of modernity requires the imagination of the future of the world.

In his second essay Moltmann argues that reimagining the future entails revaluing our western modern values. If Christian theology is to contribute, as it must, to this public task, it must revalue many of its own values. For example, if Christian theology has contributed to the modern displacement of nature by its understanding of reality as history, then its self-critical and culture-critical task is to develop values that serve a harmony between progress and equilibrium by thinking of history in nature.

The most interesting sparks in this book occur in Moltmann's third essay and Wolterstorff's response. The sparks result from a difference over the place of Christian theology in the university. If theology has a task that transcends the church itself, a task in the public arena of modern society, then theology cannot define itself merely as a function of the church as did Barth, Brunner, and Tillich over against culture Christianity. Moltmann believes that a theology that takes the church seriously and thus understands itself as a function of the kingdom of God in the world will be best lodged in the public university with some institutional independence from the church.

Wolterstorff, while agreeing with much of Moltmann's conception of theology's responsibility to church and world, makes a sharp critique of Moltmann's assumption that Christian theology deserves a place in the university because it serves the citizenry by providing a common foundation and a common language "by speaking to each and all concerning the demands and hopes of the kingdom of God." Wolterstorff is nervous about Moltmann's assumption that Christian theology can charismatically adopt whatever in other religions promotes life. Wolterstorff in part appeals to an American sense of unfairness if Christian theology is given such a hegemonic position within the university. He worries whether theologians who reject syncretistic or inclusivist approaches to other religions would experience equal treatment under such a definition of Christian theology.

Wolterstorff carries his argument further by questioning the arrogance of Christian theology in the university in assuming that as a discipline it has to referee all questions of Christian truth and relevance. Wolterstorff agrees with Moltmann that Christianity has to bring the gospel of the kingdom to bear on economics, ecology, politics, and a host of other university disciplines that concern the viable future of the globe. But why not expect Christians in these disciplines to relate the kingdom of God to their work as scholars? This is indeed a proposal worth discussing in the university, but it is one that will lead us back to the question of where such scholars will be formed and that, in turn, will lead us back to the church. Ellen Charry's essay is a good start in discerning what it would take to form a Christian self in a university setting which so enhances the secular self.

The conversation opened in this book deserves attention among all those concerned about the task and place of Christian theology.

M. Douglas Meeks

Vanderbilt University Divinity School

Gorringe, Timothy. *Karl Barth: Against Hegemony*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. 313. \$19.95.

This is the first in a projected series of books (by various authors) on the most important theologians and theological movements from the apostolic period to the present. Gorringe's book is admirable in the scope of its careful research. He surveys not only the whole of the *Church Dogmatics*, but also all of Barth's major books, essays, and published lectures, and, in addition, comments upon and employs a good deal of the secondary literature on Barth.

Those already familiar with Barth's work are likely to recognize a certain tension in Gorringer's book. Gorringer grasps that, and presents with clarity how, Barth understands the occurrences of our lives in terms of the procession of events described or anticipated in scripture. He grasps that this understanding of Barth's gives priority to exegesis over empirical observation. However, the schema that Gorringer uses to order his account of Barth, in accord with the intention of the series and also in accord with Gorringer's own allegiance to contextual theology, implies an understanding of the occurrences in our lives which precedes what scripture attests. And it implies the coordination of empirical observation with exegesis, rather than granting a precedence to exegesis. Practically that means that for Barth the "bottom line" for the Christian is hearing the Word of God, Jesus Christ, and enacting his claim and direction in all the material contexts of our lives. For the liberation and contextual theologian the "bottom line" for the Christian tends to be articulated—at a remove from Christ's presidency—in the admonitions to "change structures" and "liberate others."

Despite the fact that Gorringer is a contextual theologian, and Barth is not, he makes clear how Barth's theology—from its early beginnings to its last breaths—always seeks to attest Jesus Christ as the opponent of every hegemony of "the powers" over the life of the human creature in its economic, social, political, and sexual existence. This emphasis, Gorringer tells us, is a persistent spur and warning to liberation theology and a consistent warning against "bourgeois theology." This emphasis is surely in Barth, but it is not articulated by him in terms of a contextual method. Rather, Barth insists, it is God's enactment of God's *concrete* human identity as Jesus Christ that constrains Christians to speak (theanthropologically) of God only and always in terms of the concrete actuality of their lives. This emphasis in Barth's work has been adopted and developed by Wolf Krötke over the decades since Barth's death.

What Gorringer presents as characteristic of Barth's theology may be intimated by five headings accompanied by brief quotations or paraphrases: (1) Eschatology: The task of the Christian is the recognition and attestation (in word, attitude, and act) of God's promise of the coming radical new world of God, which is even now provisionally present. (2) Revolutionary: "With the heart of the Christian tradition, Barth understands that only grace can bring liberation, but unlike the mainstream of that tradition his break with idealism led him to understand grace in its political consequences, in its consequences for the body and the whole of human life." (3) Objectivity: "[God in] revelation gives rise to Scripture and speaks in it." (4) Contextual:

Barth is a contextual theologian, not in the sense noted above, but in the sense of his remark about his writing of the *Church Dogmatics*: "I did not *want* to be, do or say this or that; I was, did and said it when the time had come." (5) Historical materialism: Gorringer argues persuasively that the way in which Barth emphasizes God coming in the flesh and assuming it to God's person disallows Barth from thinking of God as primarily inhabiting, and being recognized in, our *ideas*; God assumed creaturely actuality in all its dimensions. Thus, emphasis should be given to Barth's materialism to distinguish his theology from idealism (e.g., from neo-orthodoxy). Gorringer claims that Bruce McCormack's genetic reading of Barth is a historical material reading in all but name.

Gorringer gives passing, but consistent, attention to the work of major commentators on Barth. He cannot agree with Macken's thesis that Barth neglects human agency, finally concluding that Macken's "whole thesis seems a perverse misconstrual of what Barth is about." He contends that Barr's negative judgments on Barth's exegesis usually miss the point. Barth does not organize his theology around, nor ground his exegesis of scripture in its relation to, *a concept of revelation*; rather, Barth's theology, following scripture, is an attempt to *witness to the reality of revelation*, to Jesus Christ, a living Person. Gorringer nearly always finds Marquardt's, Gollwitzer's, and Schellong's descriptions of Barth's work well considered and fruitful. He applauds John Webster's discernment of the thoroughgoing ethical character of Barth's theology, but is critical of Webster for missing its radical political implications.

Finally, two caveats and two editorial corrections: First, Gorringer's rejection of Barth's account of the relation of men and women is too sweeping. Markus Barth's correction of his father on this point, in his Anchor Bible commentary on Ephesians, demonstrates the fruitfulness of a more measured criticism. Second, the (implicit) suggestion that Barth's discussion of "nothingness" lacks an exegetical basis ignores Barth's extensive exegesis in *Church Dogmatics* II/2, under the headings of election and rejection. Editorial mishaps include the following: On p. 200 the phrase "True encounter cannot be a matter of existing for the other" should read "True encounter cannot be a matter of losing oneself in the other," and if you do not find a name on the page indicated in the index, look three pages earlier.

David E. Demson
Toronto School of Theology

Farrow, Douglas. *Ascension and Ecclesia: On the Significance of the Doctrine of the Ascension for Ecclesiology and Christian Cosmology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. Pp. 340. \$35.00.

Douglas Farrow's impressive book is endlessly informative—you will learn much more about the ascension than you wrongly thought you wanted to know. It amounts to an entire history of theology from an interesting point of view. Its contention is important. And perhaps while reading you will sometimes be as exasperated as I was.

Farrow begins with a biblical-exegetical argument for the claim that, if we distinguish between resurrection and ascension, then the climax of Christ's work is the latter, his actual installation at the Father's right hand. And surely—if we make that distinction—he is right.

Irenaeus—on whom Farrow is expert—is then recruited to tell us what this means. *A human person* is now with the Father and has a human history there. This has two sides. First, what lives in heaven is no *Logos* without humanity or humanity without actual history; moreover, in view of the eternity of God there can *never* have been a *Logos* strictly *asarkos*. Second, as Jesus has his history with the Father, he is just insofar absent from our history in this world. But if a human person is thus situated, all cosmology (read ontology) must be drastically rethought, as Farrow sees Irenaeus beginning to do. And the church must practice his presence within it as occasion precisely to long for his final coming, that is, to acknowledge his absence. Farrow calls this relation of absence-presence “eucharistic.”

The center of the book is organized around a demanding question posed by the ascension: “So *where* is Jesus now?” The right answer is that Jesus rose into the *future*. This answer entails that the ascension does not take place within the terms of our space-time; rather space and time are, in the history lived by the ascended Jesus before the Father, reorganized around *him*.

I must say Amen to much of this—indeed some key passages could as well be cited from my own writings. However, to get from Irenaeus to the “crossroads” at which he thinks the church now stands, Farrow examines great tracts of theology in between. And he finds no theologian righteous, no not one, until he gets to Calvin. All have slighted either the ascension itself or the living humanity of the ascended Christ. And Calvin too, it develops, did not actually achieve a historical construal of Christ's ascended humanity, so that after Calvin it is all downhill again. It is, according to Farrow, such persistent error about the ascension that has opened the door of the church to its chief ills, indeed to nothing less than the church's substitution of itself for

Christ, by worshipping itself in the person of Mary and by the worldly establishment of its hierarchy—and even on to Hitler and the holocaust.

There is probably something in this. But as Farrow uncovered the clay ascension-foot of each of my heroes in turn—Origen, Athanasius, Gregory Nysseus, Augustine, Thomas, Luther, Schleiermacher, Barth—I lost patience. A careful scholar, Farrow in some cases notes that an interpretation in better part could have been given. But his argument is carried by not doing it. One is finally moved to protest: After all, is not the church's history supposed to be more or less guided by the Spirit?

I have two more particular complaints that issue from my own catholic sensibility and Lutheran tradition and are to be received with that in mind. The permanent target of Farrow's polemic is ecclesiology and ecclesial practice of a catholic bent. Yet I can think of no catholic or Catholic ecclesiologist who would dissent or would have dissented from his concluding proposition that what is "ruled out is any construal of [Christ's] union with the church as a denial of his absence . . . , of the eschatological qualification of ecclesial being."

Then there is Luther, whose name becomes in the last half of the book shorthand for wrong ascension-theology, yet who should, I think, have been Farrow's savior in one important respect. To say, rightly, that Jesus ascended into the future does not in fact answer the "Where is he?" question until some connection is made between this temporal location and space. Farrow admits that Calvin does not provide it. Had Farrow not simply accepted the common wisdom about Luther's teaching of "ubiquity," and discovered what Luther actually said, his book would have benefited.

Robert W. Jenson
Center of Theological Inquiry

Bauckham, Richard and Trevor Hart. *Hope Against Hope: Christian Eschatology at the Turn of the Millennium*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. Pp. 233. \$16.00.

Richard Bauckham, Professor of New Testament Studies, and Trevor Hart, Professor of Divinity, both at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, have converged on the topic of eschatology at the turn of the millennium. The result is a readable, consistent diagnosis and proposed cure for the infirmities of Christian eschatological hope.

The title and theme of the book pits hope in the transcendent possibilities of God the Creator against hope in the merely immanent possibilities of

human history. The authors begin with a summary of the Enlightenment “myth of progress” and its utter dissolution in the twentieth century. They proceed to challenge the postmodern disintegration of meaning and wholeness by supposing a final ending to our story. “Only when history is completed will the final meaning of all things—and hence of each thing—be achieved.” Christians are thus invited to dwell within a metanarrative that includes all the horrors of history, while hoping for the ultimately satisfying end that only God can give.

Such an eschatological conclusion transfigures the present and generates alternative ways of dwelling therein. Here one sees the essentially imaginative nature of hope and of the eschatological statements that emerge from it. Building upon this primacy of imagination in eschatological thought, the authors examine ten images of hope central to the scriptural traditions. These affirmations of a transcendent hope do not eclipse the human, the creaturely and the natural, because they gain their true reality only in relationship to God.

The book concludes with a new possibility of progress, not enabled by human capacities, but by human responsiveness to what God alone will accomplish. Herein, “hope of a properly *transcendent* sort . . . actually furnishes the most adequate source of and resources for action designed to transfigure the here-and-now.” Following Christ and pursuing God’s kingdom mean that we treat these moral goals as ends in themselves, inherently worthwhile. As humans trust God to transform the situation, we are both freed from despair and empowered to resist the dominant ideologies of this world.

This “subversive vision” thus imagines and unfolds the inherent possibilities of God’s future. “In and through our imagining of it, and in and through the presence and agency in our midst of the Spirit who raised Jesus from death, we actually experience what we hope for, albeit only in part and under the form of the things of this world.” Thus empowered to live history differently, Christians bear witness to the God who alone can save the world, while simultaneously calling people to a life of hope.

The power of this book is in its consistency of vision. Its weaknesses stem largely from the narrowness of vision enabling consistency. Foremost here is the unexplored polarity of immanence and transcendence that frames the entire exposition. Immanent human effort or evolutionary transition is juxtaposed throughout with the transcendent, “direct activity” of God. Yet for Christianity any dichotomous polarity of transcendence and immanence requires rethinking in light of the transcendent-made-immanent in Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. How God’s presence in human activity is related

to God's "direct activity," or how the salvation of "God alone" is related to the work of God's Spirit in, with, and through humanity, is left unexplored by this position.

Similarly, while the case for the destruction of Enlightenment progress is persuasive, the bankruptcy of current alternatives is hardly compelling. Given their use of process-like language, for example, it is not at all clear why a process alternative to the authors' strict dichotomies should be considered bankrupt today, nor why its different aims and means of progress should be discarded.

While discounting the integrity of current alternatives, the authors confront few challenges to their own position. For example, even assuming a God who can raise the dead, many would still find the redemption of historical horrors unimaginable. The problem is not a lack of transcendence, but the impossibility of imagining any satisfactory resolution to the story.

In short, this is an insightful analysis that will be compelling to those who already agree with its basic premises. Others may be frustrated by a consistency of vision that eclipses alternatives and curtails discussion.

Steve Stell
Austin College

Andolsen, Barbara Hilker. *The New Job Contract: Economic Justice in an Age of Insecurity*. Cleveland: Pilgrim, 1998. Pp. 164. \$15.95.

Professor Andolsen, an ethicist and a feminist, brings to this book a sensitivity to the injustices suffered by workers in today's globalizing economy. That economy, she says, is taking away from workers a sense of economic security they previously enjoyed with long-term employers and is replacing it with a "new job contract" that weakens loyalties and shifts responsibility for staying employable primarily to the workers themselves. Some workers, especially those with the education, skills, and mobility to flourish in an unfettered labor market, adapt easily to the challenges of new job requirements. Many others who adjust with difficulty when work environments change are made anxious about their place in a more integrated economy. Paradoxically, economic insecurity may increase in this time of prosperity.

Because the author considers economic security to be an important human good, she devotes most of the book to a moral assessment of the shift to an "employability" model. She believes that the new job contract at its best calls for an employer to promise its employees good wages, decent fringe benefits, challenging work assignments, and, where necessary, training opportunities to build new skills. But many employers fall far short of doing so. In an

increasingly turbulent labor market, they discriminate against older workers, workers hired on a contingent basis, and workers unwilling or unable to assume the costs of developing new job skills.

The problem of contingent workers gets special treatment in the book, partly because women are overrepresented among part-time and temporary workers. The nation's largest private-sector employer, for example, is not General Motors, but Manpower, Inc., a huge placement agency that hires mostly women temps. Because contingent labor arrangements turn workers from fixed costs to variable costs, more and more corporations are boosting the proportion of their employees who are "temporary" and more easily fired or hired when labor requirements shift. The result, Andolsen says, is to transform radically the moral obligations that corporations and their managers feel towards their workers. Lower wages, fewer benefits, less skill development, and negligible job security follow in course.

As economic differences widen among workers, the economically privileged must learn how better to express concern for the well-being of the workers most at risk. Andolsen is at her best here when she draws careful distinctions between cultural norms that limit concerns for others to relatively narrow groups and Christian solidarity with all people as a moral response to the social reality that human beings are increasingly socially and economically interdependent. To be sure, conflicts between and among groups arise continuously from factors such as gender, race, or economic interests; they help to identify the need for more nuanced notions of solidarity. Even so, Christians must see all people, no matter how remote from one's daily experience, as having dignity and worth as beings who are made in the image and likeness of God.

Drawing upon Roman Catholic social thought, the author rejects neoliberal forms of contract theory which assert that any job contract is fair if its terms are voluntarily accepted by rational parties. She doubts whether many workers have in any morally meaningful sense consented to the new employability contract. To protect human dignity, a critical moral assessment of the treatment accorded workers under any job contract is essential. Indeed, Andolsen believes that Christian solidarity requires "a preferential option for the poor" and the socially marginalized. Employers ought not be free therefore to pursue productive investments based exclusively on obtaining the most profitable rates of return. Rather, they have a responsibility to devise forms of the job contract that are consistent with employment security over the span of a work life, however pressed they may be by marketplace competition.

In her concluding chapter Andolsen explores the importance for Christian ethics of a eucharist-centered spirituality of justice and solidarity. The

eucharist for Christians, especially for those who celebrate it frequently, focuses attention on the moral equality among humans and solidarity between them rooted in their relationship to God. Examining the question of employability from the perspective of a eucharist-based spirituality of solidarity and justice, she believes, forces one to face squarely the central difficulty of the new job contract under current conditions of global capitalism.

The New Job Contract is well-written, fresh, and insightful. Because it is arguably the first feminist analysis to connect religious understandings of economic justice with the issues facing workers in a globalizing economy, it deserves special attention from pastors, ethicists, and feminists.

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Daly, Lewis C. *A Moment to Decide: The Crisis in Mainstream Presbyterianism*. New York: Institute for Democracy Studies, 2000. Pp. 170. \$25.00.

The aim of this book is to expose, describe, and analyze the histories and agendas of five renewal groups in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): the Presbyterian Lay Committee, Presbyterians for Renewal, Presbyterians Pro-Life, the Presbyterian Coalition, and the Presbyterian Forum. According to Daly, these organizations are waging a coordinated, well-funded, and sometimes ruthless campaign to gain control of the PC(USA), similar to the fundamentalist takeover of the Southern Baptist denomination in recent years. The focus of the groups' efforts is to overturn the "socially enlightened vision, policies, and programming" of the PC(USA) and other mainline denominations. By attacking these values and the notions of religious freedom and constitutional democracy that undergird them, the renewal organizations have plunged the PC(USA), mainline denominations generally, and indeed America itself into a crisis. *A Moment to Decide* sounds the alarm!

The book's 641 endnotes for a text of 107 pages makes a striking first impression, suggesting substance, thoroughness, and detail. However, it is equally striking, though in a negative way, that the only materials documented in the notes are the literature, publications, and web sites of the organizations and churches under scrutiny. There is virtually no trace of original research or investigative reporting, such as interviews, archival research, or revelation of important secret documents. These are things readers expect in a book that claims to be an exposé.

Readers are assured that *A Moment to Decide* "does not seek to present the motives of the various groups" and that the book "represents the organiza-

tions and individuals mentioned in a fair and nuanced manner.” However, these words stand in stark contrast to page after page of simplistic representations, incendiary rhetoric, sledgehammer subtlety, conspiracy theories, and guilt by association. To cite a few examples, Daly suggests that, as a rule, when renewal groups take moderate or even progressive stands on issues, they do so to provide cover for more extreme groups and to help make extremist views mainstream. Readers are told that J. Howard Pew gave generously to the Presbyterian Lay Committee, that Pew supported a college that hired an economics professor who was a former *Luftwaffe* pilot, that Pew happened to be a friend to the founder of the John Birch Society, and so forth. Daly makes a passing reference to Young Life and describes it as “a conservative evangelical network aimed at recruiting high school students.” When Daly describes the activities of renewal groups, here and elsewhere, I often thought of claims by Soviet officials in the 1960s that the Boy Scouts of America was a paramilitary organization.

A Moment to Decide gratuitously assumes that commitments to an abstract concept of the freedom of conscience and liberal social witness policies have defined the PC(USA) for most of the twentieth century and are at the heart of the denomination and its contribution to American life today. Any person or group not in agreement with this vision and also, seemingly, with the full acceptance of feminism and homosexuality is branded “right wing” and cast as part of a conspiracy to take over the PC(USA) and undercut the American way of life. This rhetorical move can be effective—struggle against rivals to change conditions, call the changed conditions the traditional state of affairs, and then brand rivals who continue to struggle as unpatriotic or unfaithful. But Daly handles this approach so clumsily that thoughtful readers on all sides of the debate are bound to be annoyed, embarrassed, or both.

To associate the renewal movements with the fundamentalist takeover of the Southern Baptist denomination is another clever but finally unconvincing move. The obvious difference is that renewal groups in the PC(USA) and most of their members are not fundamentalists. They believe in the ordination of women, they care about the poor and oppressed, and most are members of churches whose pastors are graduates of PC(USA) seminaries. Moreover, the language of “takeover” masks the real issue here, which is that renewal groups are using due process to make their imprint on the PC(USA)—something that rival groups have done for decades. Takeover language takes us back to the basic rhetorical move of *A Moment to Decide*: If your group lacks power or voice, you speak of the need for inclusion and diversity. If your group’s power or influence is threatened, you cry “takeover” and respond by

demonizing your opponents, representing them in unflattering ways, and claiming that your side is a hapless victim of unscrupulous forces.

It is a great irony that *A Moment to Decide* treats the renewal organizations in exactly the same ways Daly accuses renewal leaders of treating his allies in the PC(USA) and other organizations. Daly needs to consider whether the Covenant Network, the Witherspoon Society, COCU, and the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice should be treated in the same way this book treats the renewal movements. Clearly the answer is No. Is it possible that *A Moment to Decide* is a misguided "payback" for decades of supposed yellow journalism by the Presbyterian Lay Committee? The complete absence of an evenhanded critique vitiates the contributions *A Moment to Decide* could or should have made.

One of the oddities of *A Moment to Decide* is that it is called a report, with "research prepared by Lewis C. Daly." One presumes that he put the text in its final shape. The absence of a designated author and its status as a report might explain why the book has an unfinished feel to it. Daly's thesis is arguable, the implications are important, and the research that is done is impressive. A better book can be written, minus conspiracy theories, logical fallacies, and so forth. There are dozens of people, all sympathetic with Daly's research, who could have produced a serious, useful, and fair book. One can only assume that this report was rushed into print because of the urgency of the issues. If so, the plan backfired. *A Moment to Decide* was stillborn, and the credibility of the Institute for Democracy Studies lies in ruins.

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Brown, William P. *The Ethos of the Cosmos: The Genesis of Moral Imagination in the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. Pp. 458. \$35.00.

Through his work on ethics in Old Testament wisdom literature (*Character in Crisis: A Fresh Approach to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament* [1996]) and his continuing leadership of the Character Ethics section in the Society of Biblical Literature, William Brown, who teaches at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, has become one of the most interesting and significant constructive voices in Old Testament ethics and theology. In *The Ethos of the Cosmos* Brown again provides sustenance for those who long for a more substantive connection between scripture and ethics, by seamlessly integrating ethics and theology with skilled and faithful biblical exegesis.

Brown does not pursue traditional strategies of extracting ethical principles from the biblical text, but offers instead a different model for thinking about biblical ethics. Focusing on the creation traditions in the Old Testament, Brown is able to move beyond the debate over the ideological orientation of the creation accounts (oppressive or empowering?) to consider the way that the moral imagination of the ancients, as revealed in the creation texts, shaped Israel's character. In other words, he engages biblical ethics and theology by considering the formative relationship between Israel's understanding of the created world and its moral character as a people. This is not about "world-view," however—a concept completely inadequate in this discussion. Instead, *ethos* is the "vividly imaginative and arresting moral context" that informs and sustains a community's identity and conduct. To underscore the intimacy of the connection between *ethos* and moral identity, Brown uses a number of organic images to describe their relationship. *Ethos*, for example, is described as the soil in which the moral life grows, the "fertile landscape in which an ethic finds its place to flourish."

Five different creation traditions are examined: Priestly, Yahwistic, and the creation traditions found in Second Isaiah, Proverbs, and Job. As one might expect, the discussion begins with those creation texts attributed to the Priestly writers, among which Genesis 1 is central. The Priestly cosmos is marked by both differentiation and interdependence ("boundedness and boundness") with God as a collaborative agent who enlists the forces of creation in the ordering and maintenance of the cosmos. The integrity of this cosmos fundamentally shapes the Priestly material that follows. Yet it is always accompanied by a concern for distinction, since for the Priestly writers "chaos is the logical extreme of inclusion, the embodiment of nonorder." This delicate balance of integration and distinction is one that is not always maintained, yet it is at the core of the Priestly *ethos* of creation.

The Yahwist's account of creation in the garden reveals an *ethos* of differentiated mutuality, a mutuality that finds its source in the common essence that binds creation together. While in the Priestly traditions holiness naturally finds its home in the cosmic sanctuary that it helps to order, for the Yahwist the law enters from outside the harmonious garden to find its place. "The moral dynamics of the Yahwist's narrative oscillates between a moral ontology, in which a mutuality of relationship between equals and the environment has its home, and an ethics of deontology, in which the moral will's status vis-à-vis the law powerfully comes into play." Contrary to some interpretations, the garden is not entirely out of reach, planted as it is on the ground, and it is obedience to the law that offers the community access to it.

Describing the ethos at work within these creation accounts in such depth is a helpful contribution to thinking about ethics and scripture, but even more significant is the way in which Brown traces the effects of these ethoses forward into their narrative traditions. Brown offers not simply an analysis of creation traditions, but a penetrating reading of the way in which the ethos at the heart of a particular creation tradition shapes the moral identity of the community in what follows.

After a brief reflection on creation and ethics in the New Testament, Brown considers, by way of conclusion, some of the implications of the presence of such a variety of ethoses in the Old Testament witness. Each ethos finds its place in relation to the whole, but each brings something different to the table as well. The diversity of the moral perceptions of creation suggests that an "integrity of differentiation" characterizes the ethos of the cosmos: Diversity thrives within the creation that binds all together. Furthermore, the "task of the modern interpreter is to find a constructive synthesis [from among the various ethoses] that is morally suggestive without being wholly determinative for each and every new moral challenge." While densely argued, for those who wish to take on the daunting but exciting work of constructively relating scripture and ethics, *The Ethos of the Cosmos* provides a wealth of stimulating raw material.

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Ourisman, David J. *From Gospel to Sermon: Preaching Synoptic Texts*. St. Louis: Chalice, 2000. Pp. 135. \$17.99.

David Ourisman draws on literary criticism (with a dash of redaction criticism) to develop a compact and practical guide for preaching on texts from the Synoptic Gospels. Ourisman hopes to move the preacher from an atomistic focus on an individual passage as the basis for a sermon to a consideration of how our hearing of a passage is informed by the broader literary and theological currents in the gospel in which it is found. The preacher wants to understand the resonances of a passage that are particular to its setting in Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

The author proposes a simple methodology. In the summer prior to the beginning of a lectionary year, the preacher should read and reread the gospel for the coming year in order to develop a feel for the gospel as a whole. When preparing individual sermons, the preacher first brainstorms, then re-searches the gospel (with a particular ear towards echoes of the passage in other parts of

the gospel), stands open to contemporary images, establishes the plotline of the sermon, and weaves the sermon itself.

Individual chapters introduce us to Ourisman's literary and redactional perspectives on Mark, Luke-Acts, and Matthew. In connection with Mark, Ourisman considers the identity of Jesus, the career of Jesus, the role of the disciples, and the female followers of Jesus. Our guide wisely considers Luke-Acts as the literary world presumed by the Gospel of Luke. The discussion highlights the controversy behind the narrative concerning the relationship of gentiles to the early movement of Christian Judaism, conflict within the narrative on the same subject, the Jewish piety of several leading characters, and the pivotal role of Peter. The chapter on Matthew takes up the motif of workers needed for the mission, the hardships of the mission, an inadequate understanding of Christian discipleship in the Matthean community (thus reducing the effectiveness of the mission), the call to retrieve disciples in danger of being lost, and conflict with persons beyond the church.

In addition to general exegetical and homiletical reflections, each chapter contains a sermon that Ourisman has preached in a live congregation. Prior to each sermon the author provides a very helpful sketch of the congregation in which the sermon was preached as well as the process of preparation, calling attention to connections between the situation of the congregation and the development of the sermon. Following each sermon the preacher reflects on the message and how it was received.

Along the way, a critical reader can take issue with some of Ourisman's exegetical preferences. For instance, I am not persuaded that the Gospel of Mark was written to a complacent middle-class community. However, such reservations only surface different ways of reading evidence that is open to multiple interpretations. On the whole, I find this book to be a congenial and helpful guide that brings two disciplines of contemporary biblical scholarship to bear on preaching.

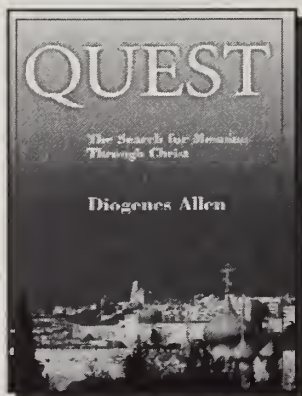
Ourisman assumes that, week to week, the pastor will preach on discrete pericopae. I wish that this creative writer had taken a next step that is implied by his method and suggested that the pastor might actually preach on the themes that stretch across an entire gospel. For instance, instead of focusing a sermon on Mark 1:16-20 (the call of the first disciples) the pastor might develop a sermon on the portrait of the disciples in Mark. A sermon on a theme can be biblical preaching every bit as much as developing a message from a single pericope.

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